AUGUST, 1935

THE COMMUNIST

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CONTENTS

THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR 675
By ALEX BITTELMAN

THE TITANS OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM 686
By V. J. JEROME

THE MEANING OF ENGELS' TEACHINGS FOR THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS 709
By B. K. GEBERT

WORLD POLITICS AND ETHIOPIA 723
By WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

A VALUABLE LENIN DOCUMENT 735

FRIEDRICH ENGELS 736
By V. I. LENIN

ENGELS AS ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF COMMUNISM 744
By V. I. LENIN

ENGELS' INTRODUCTION TO MARX'S "THE CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE" 750

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY .. 769

BOOK REVIEW 777
By JOSEPH FREEMAN

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FRIEDRICH ENGELS
1820-1895

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The United Front Against Imperialist War

By ALEX BITTELMAN

THE twenty-first anniversary of the outbreak of the first world imperialist war finds us on the brink of another and more terrible world slaughter.

Hitler Germany is arming to the teeth, openly preparing to seize the lands of other nations and to enslave their people. Fascist Germany has allied itself with Japan and Poland and is now seeking to bring in Italy in a common fascist war front. In its drive to secure a new redistribution of the world in favor of German imperialism, Hitler fascism prepares especially for an attack upon the Soviet Union, upon the chief bulwark of peace, upon the fortress of Socialism and international working class strength.

Japanese imperialism extends its military occupation of China aided by the bloody and treacherous Chiang Kai-shek.

Mussolini is feverishly preparing for a robber war against the Ethiopian people. This brazen war of colonial conquest and plunder is scheduled to begin in September.

In the midst of this world of capitalist enemies and imperialist and fascist warmongers stands the Soviet Union fighting consistently for peace in the interests of the toilers of all countries. The Soviet Union utilizes every available opportunity and means to serve the interests of peace despite the constant provocations of Hitler Germany and its allies.

THE ANTI-WAR TASKS OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

What are the immediate tasks of the American working class and its allies in the face of the threatening new imperialist world war?

The "common" answer to this question is: "We will try to keep out of it." All capitalist politicians and parties are seeking to impress the masses with the idea that, in the event of a new war, the United States will seek to stay out and let the warring countries fight it out among themselves.

Is this the true policy of the capitalist class of the United States? No, it is not. The capitalist class of this country is actively and energetically preparing for war. And everybody who wants can see it. It is sufficient to point only to the following well-known facts.

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Since the New Deal came into existence, and up until June 30, 1934, the Roosevelt administration has spent a total of *over a billion dollars* on direct and indirect war preparations. On June 25, Roosevelt signed the largest peace-time appropriation for the Navy—a sum of $458,684,379, and the Navy Department is proceeding full speed ahead to build up the Navy to the limits permitted by the Washington and London Naval Treaties.

Does this look like a policy of "staying out of war"? Of course, not. It is a policy of intensive preparation *for* war.

Another fact pointing in the same direction are the extensive war-games of the United States fleet, especially in the Pacific, almost at Japan's door. And then a whole string of facts: the building up of the new airway from the U.S. to China, the expansion of and mechanization of the Army, and the launching of its large war games, the tremendous rush in the building up of the air service and the chemical branches of war, the militarization of the youth and the special role of the C.C.C. in this work, etc.

Only the blind can fail to see that the real policy of the American capitalist class is intensive preparations for participation in the war and not for staying out of it.

Aside from this, the whole idea of the U.S. staying out of war, in the event that the threatening world war materializes, is sheer utopia, is day dreaming. And for this main reason: the capitalist class of the United States, *i.e.*, American imperialism, is totally dissatisfied with the present distribution of the world. It wants more colonies and more spheres of imperialist exploitation. American imperialism has not given up the idea of conquering China for itself. On the contrary, the setback suffered by our "own" imperialism in China as a result of Japanese imperialist conquests is spurring on American imperialism to ever greater exertions to prepare for war in order to retrieve and recapture its old positions and to extend them further.

American imperialism is not yet ready for such a war but is intensively preparing for it.

Then comes the Caribbean region and South America. This is a part of the world which American imperialism considers its own by the grace of Providence itself. But other imperialist powers do not, chief among them England, and of late, Japan as well. In the struggle for the imperialist redistribution of the world, the Caribbean and South America is a "stake" for which American imperialism is preparing to fight.

We need not, for the moment, go into other parts of the world. From the foregoing it is clear that American imperialist policy is to prepare to war for mastery in the Pacific and for world domination,

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the first instance, against British imperialism and also against Japanese imperialism.

Now let us see what relation this has to the threatening war for the new redistribution of the world in favor of German imperialism and its allies that is now being prepared by Hitler fascism. If we do so, we shall see why the idea that a war engineered by Hitler "is too far from here to affect us" is plain nonsense when it is not a cover for a policy of actually helping Hitler.

A new redistribution of the world in favor of German imperialism seeks to strengthen not only German imperialism but also its allies. This means—Japan. These are also some of the grounds upon which Hitler fascism seeks to win to its plans British imperialism. What does this mean from the point of view of American imperialist policy? It means a shift in the world relations of imperialist forces which threatens to be unfavorable to American imperialism. It means the erection of new barriers on the road of the U.S. imperialist expansion. This being the case, is it possible to maintain that American imperialism will just "stay out" and watch it happen? Nonsense. It will enter into it with all the power at its command and will seek to get as much out of it as possible. And the facts of intensive war preparations as partially cited above plainly demonstrate that American imperialism is preparing for war and not for staying out.

Let us get this idea clearly understood by the American masses. The imperialist war, which German fascism and its allies are preparing, in the first place the war against the Soviet Union, means the preparation of *a new world imperialist war*, and that in this war American imperialism will be an active participant, much more active than in the first world imperialist war. In other words, the United States will be in it and not out of it. American imperialism and the Roosevelt administration are now feverishly preparing for such an event.

Once more it is necessary to place before the American working class and its allies the true meaning of the major policies of the American bourgeoisie at the present time. These are to find a capitalist way out of the crisis on the road of fascization and war preparation. This is the main trend of development as far as the capitalist class is concerned. American imperialism, in distinction to German imperialism and its fascist government, is not yet willing to precipitate a war but when precipitated by Hitler the American imperialists will seek to force the United States into the war to realize the imperialist ambitions of monopoly capital.

The struggle against war, against war preparations, and for the preservation of peace, a struggle in which the Soviet Union leads

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all the enemies of war throughout the world, is the *immediate task of the American working class and its allies.* And in this struggle at home, the main enemy is American imperialism, the American bourgeoisie, its most reactionary, fascist and warmongering sections.

LESSONS OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN FRANCE

The Communist Parties all over the world are fighting energetically to build up the united front of the widest masses of toilers to struggle against war and fascism. This is the question that occupies first place on the order of business of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.

Of all capitalist countries, this united front has made the greatest headway in France, thus showing the tremendous possibilities that exist everywhere. No true friend of the fight against war and fascism can deny this fact.

There are many reasons why France has become an example of the united front. Here we wish to point to one of these reasons, one that is inextricably tied up with all the others. *It is the central role which the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union is playing in the French united-front struggle against war and fascism.*

That this is so, no one can dispute. The people's front in France, so brilliantly demonstrated in the July 14 actions, carries prominently on its banners the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union. And with this as one of its chief slogans it is growing into a power in the cause of peace, of anti-fascism, of struggle against the capitalist offensive of the French bourgeoisie, of struggle for the most vital economic and political demands of the toiling masses of France. In short—in the cause of the class struggle which leads to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for a Soviet France.

The French Communist Party brought to the masses Stalin's famous statement to Laval, a statement which the opponents of the united front in the labor movement have tried to slander and distort. The French Communists explained to the masses the true meaning of Stalin's statement. They said: We follow Stalin as we followed Lenin. The masses understood and responded to the call, and July 14 saw the greatest triumph thus far of the people's front in France.

Do the slanderers of Stalin in the labor movement now see their mistake? Or do they need some more lessons?

We do not speak here of the Waldmans and the Abe Cahans, the bellboys of Hearst. Nor do we have in mind here Daniel Hoan who has set himself up as the bridge between the Right Wing and the vacillating Norman Thomas. From now on we shall have to

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deal much more with Daniel Hoan then heretofore because this person and his tendency in the Socialist Party are trying to become the chief disintegrators of the Leftward development of the S.P. membership. It is Hoan—one of the official heads of the so-called militants—who has taken the job of switching over the development of the Socialist Party onto the tracks of the Right Wing. And Thomas lets himself be switched. He now capitulates to the Right Wing *through* Hoan.

Here we speak of Thomas himself. This was what he said of Stalin's statement. It was, according to Thomas, an "endorsement of French militarism" which "dealt a terrible injury to the integrity of working class ideals and to its enthusiastic opposition to war" (*Socialist Call*, June 8, 1935).

Well, on July 14, a little over a month after Thomas delivered himself of the above pronunciamento, and after the French Communists had widely spread Stalin's statement among the working class and other toilers, something happened in France to verify the "correctness" of Thomas' assertions. Namely: half a million people came out on the streets of Paris (let alone the other parts of France) and demonstrated their "enthusiastic opposition to war". This was how the French working class and other toilers "verified and confirmed" Thomas' slanders. Has that opened Thomas' eyes? Not if we judge by his new capitulations to the Right Wing—*via Hoan*—at the last meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Stalin said that "he understands and fully approves the national defense policy carried out by France to maintain her armed forces at the level necessary to her security". This was in a talk with Laval on how to strengthen the system of collective security. It would appear that all genuine friends of peace should greet such a statement because it seeks to make sure that Hitler fascism will be kept from beginning the war, as long as that is possible, by a force that is capable of doing so. Furthermore, anyone thinking in terms of class struggle and practising the policy of class struggle would at once see that Stalin's statement raised before the French working class the question of *power* in all its magnitude. Namely: to what kind of *government* can the French masses entrust the task of fighting for peace, of utilizing the armed forces not for imperialist purposes, not against the working class at home but for the preservation of peace and in the interests of the masses.

And the French Communists understood the question and gave the answer: these tasks and these armed forces cannot be entrusted to governments of the French imperialist bourgeoisie. Consequently, the French masses must continue to refuse war credits to these gov-

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ernments, must continue on the Bolshevik positions of revolutionary defense against national defense, must carry on anti-militarist revolutionary work among the armed forces and for the defense of the interests of the soldiers and sailors. The support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union means struggle for the preservation of peace, everything for the defense of the Soviet Union, against imperialist conquests, against the imperialist bourgeoisie of one's "own" country, against the fascists and war-mongers, against the capitalist offensive and for the strengthening of the united front of the workers and toilers. In other words, this means proceeding along a road which leads to the struggle for power, for Soviets and Socialism.

This was how the French Communists understood Stalin's statement and this was how the French masses understood it and demonstrated their correct understanding on July 14. But all this is beyond Thomas. He cannot understand (or is he pretending?) what millions of workers understand: that the struggle for peace, in support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, is *a class struggle* nationally and internationally. It is a struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie at home and a struggle against the main enemy of the Socialist fatherland of the international proletariat.

The united front against war and fascism, which the Communist Party of this country fights for, is precisely the policy that will arouse and mobilize the masses *and will place the American working class in the position of leadership in the struggle against the dictatorship of the monopolies.*

FOR DAILY AND SYSTEMATIC ANTI-WAR STRUGGLES

The August First and Third actions should serve to bring out the widest masses in united-front struggles for the preservation of peace. These actions should also serve as the starting point for daily and systematic anti-war struggles.

We have improved our popularization of the peace policies of the Soviet Union; but we do not always show what these policies mean for the working class and toiling population of the United States. We must show the masses that the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union works for the preservation of peace, not only for Europe and Africa and Asia, but *also* for the United States.

We are fighting against the armament program of the American bourgeoisie which the New Deal is carrying out. We correctly demand that all war funds be diverted towards financing unemployment relief and insurance, farmer relief and payment of the bonus as against Roosevelt's tricky policies of diverting for war preparation purposes funds ostensibly appropriated for relief.

But that is not enough. We must reinforce our general strug-

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gle against imperialist armaments with the demand, "For a system of collective security". This is what the Soviet Union is fighting for. This is what is demanded in the August First appeal of the Communist Parties of Europe and of China and Japan. Specifically, this means to extend to the whole world the principles of peace preservation which underlie the various pacts signed between the Soviet Union on the one hand and France, Czechoslovakia, etc., on the other. It would create another impediment to the war-mongers, it would help to isolate the war incendiaries, and would facilitate the struggle against the imperialist armament race.

We are correctly seeking to mobilize the American masses against Hitler Germany and its allies as the chief war-mongers and the most threatening enemies of the Soviet Union. It is necessary to increase manifoldly the mass agitation for this slogan. Especially is it necessary to show that a war started by Hitler in Europe will inevitably become a world war which the United States will be in, not out.

We fight for the defense of the independence of small nations and against imperialist conquest. This should mean first of all the defense of the independence of those small nations that are subjugated or are threatened by American imperialism. The countries of the Caribbean region—most outstanding, Cuba—and the peoples of South America must be our chief and immediate concern. To intensify the struggle for the independence of these countries and to support actively their liberation struggle is a major task of the American proletariat.

We fight against Italian fascism and for the defense of the Ethiopian people. The open preparations of Mussolini to begin the attack in September makes this issue a most burning one in our daily anti-war struggles. On this point it should be said that the struggle in defense of the Ethiopian people is still too much confined mainly to the Negro masses; we have not yet made similar progress among the white toilers, especially the Italian masses. While we must continue to spread this struggle more widely and deeply among the Negro people, cementing among them the united front, locally and nationally, in defense of the Ethiopian people, it is imperative to win the white workers and toilers for this struggle, especially the Italian masses, and to make this issue a central one in the general struggle of the American masses against imperialist war, for the preservation of peace and for the defense of the independence of small nations. And among the Negroes themselves we must overcome the existing weakness of the movement which results from the as yet negligible number of trade unions represented in the united front for Ethiopia.

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We fight against Japanese imperialism. Here it must be said that we do not sufficiently arouse the masses for the defense of China and against its dismemberment by the imperialist bandits. In the United States such a weakness is particularly serious. We must never forget that the American bourgeoisie still cloaks its imperialist ambitions in China with pacifist slogans. It is therefore incumbent upon us to expose this fraud, to show the imperialist nature of the Chinese policies of the American bourgeoisie and to rally the masses against these policies as well as against Japanese and all other imperialists in China. The defense of China is one of our central slogans. Prominent in our struggle against the dismemberment of China, we must intensify the campaign for the defense of the Chinese Soviets.

We fight for the defense of the Soviet Union. Our appeal to the masses on this slogan must be made much broader than is now the case. The widest appeal on this slogan is for the preservation of peace. To defend the Soviet Union is to defend the chief bulwark of peace. All who hate imperialist war and want to prevent it are interested in the defense of the Soviet Union. Closely connected with this is our appeal in support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union. These peace policies offer a political rallying point for all who are earnestly striving to preserve peace. It must be stated here that we are still making insufficient use of the peace policies of the Soviet Union in order to rally the widest masses of the United States in the struggle against war and against the reactionary and war-mongering monopolistic bourgeoisie. And lastly the defense of our Soviet Socialist Fatherland. Here our appeal is mainly on the grounds of international solidarity of the working class and its allies. It can be shown to the broadest masses of workers, toiling farmers, Negroes, intellectuals and the poor population of the cities that the Soviet Union is a fortress of strength to the exploited masses of all countries, that the Socialist system of the Soviet Union weakens and undermines capitalism, and that the defense of the Soviet Union is identical with the defense of every vital interest of the toiling masses in the United States. It is not true that only the advanced workers can understand that. Love and sympathy for the Soviet Union is widespread and it grows hand in hand with the spread of anti-capitalist sentiments and ideas among the masses. It is our task to make the masses, the millions, conscious of this existing link, of the inseparable connection between opposition to capitalist exploitation in the United States and opposition to capitalist attack upon the Soviet Union. And on this basis we seek to win the masses to active defense of the Soviet Union.

We fight for the united front against chauvinist hatred between

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nations, for proletarian internationalism and for Socialism which alone can make peace secure. On this we have to say the following. The struggle against national chauvinism and for proletarian internationalism needs considerable improvement and reinforcement. It must be conducted much more systematically and concretely than heretofore. It must be made a *major phase* of our mass work.

National chauvinism is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the bourgeoisie for the promotion of fascism and war. We see this weapon used with increasing frequency in the United States. We must examine the specific forms which this takes and combat them concretely. We take the reactionary agitation and incitement of national chauvinism under the slogan of "Americanism". Concretely, this means *the open shop and company unions.* This is presented as the "American Plan" as against the "alien" plans of trade unions. Every American worker is familiar with this line of reactionary and chauvinist agitation. It is therefore not difficult to identify in the eyes of the masses the "Americanism" of the capitalists with their open shop and company union policies. Closely connected with this is the other phase of "Americanism"—incitement against the foreign-born workers. We now have a fresh crop of legislative and other measures to "solve" unemployment in the United States by deporting all foreign-born workers. We must show the absurdity of such proposals as a means of "helping" the unemployed native workers and, in this way, expose the *real* intent of these proposals which is to split the ranks of the workers, to weaken their organizations (unions, unemployed organizations, the growing movement for a Labor Party) and to strengthen the capitalist offensive signalized by the Supreme Court decision on the N.R.A.

A typical expression of this "Americanism" is the new Declaration of Independence published by the Hearst press on July 4 and signed by the Liberty League crowd, by Roosevelt's assistant Secretary of War (Woodring) and by other reactionaries, fascists and warmongers. This was also signed by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, the same Green who "accuses" the Communists of having lined up "with the bankers" in opposition to the Wagner Bill. Our press has already dealt with this question. Here we wish to point to the following significant features of this Hearstian new "Declaration of Independence".

1. It repudiates the bourgeois revolutionary declaration of 1776 and substitutes for it a declaration of reaction and poorly concealed fascism. It makes its stand on "Americanism" as a disguise for labor-baiting, reaction, national chauvinism and war preparations.

2. It hails the present standard of living of the American masses

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as an ideal (over eleven million unemployed according to official figures, twenty millions on the relief rolls, no social legislation of any value, Roosevelt's "nineteen-dollar" monthly wage, persecution of trade unions, breaking of strikes with bullets and gas bombs, no bonus to the ex-servicemen, the transformation of the American farmer into a peasant, lynch law for the Negroes).

This was what William Green endorsed as the "high" standard of living, in order to promote the struggle against the Communists whom he and Hearst classify together with criminals and racketeers. But this is "Americanism", the Americanism of the reactionary bourgeoisie of this country. It is not difficult to show to the widest masses what this "Americanism" stands for and that it is the deadliest enemy of the American masses, of the American people to whom America belongs and who must fight *to make American their own.*

White supremacy and oppression of the Negroes is another form of this "Americanism". While the anti-Negro incitements are growing, together with the general growth of bourgeois chauvinist agitation, it is becoming easier for us to combat it and to win the white and Negro masses for common struggle against the common enemy. A decisive factor in this is the increasing role of the Negro masses (the workers, the sharecroppers, etc.), in the economic and political life of the country. For this reason it is now easier to convince the white workers and farmers that only in solidarity with the Negro toilers can they improve their own conditions. This is at the bottom of the highly significant fact that white sharecroppers in the South are themselves seeking to be organized together with the Negro sharecroppers. The reduction in the standard of living of the white masses together with the increasing importance of the Negro masses in the class struggle offer the basis for the most successful drive against the anti-Negro chauvinist policies of the American bourgeoisie. And the emergence before the public eye of a whole series of highly capable, courageous and devoted Negro workers as leaders in the class struggle, a fact for which our Party can feel justly proud, contributes immeasurably to the same end.

Another expression of national chauvinism is the evident growth of anti-Semitic incitement and the general bourgeois tendency to try to split the workers along religious lines. We must combat these tendencies much more energetically than heretofore. The role of anti-Semitism as a "traditional" weapon of black reaction must be made known to the widest masses. In addition, it is necessary to point to Hitler Germany as the most glaring demonstration of the fact that anti-Semitism today is the weapon of fascization and fascism, the deadly enemy of every worker and toiler in the United States. Furthermore, the increasing activities of the Catholic Church to or-

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ganize the Catholic masses "as Catholics" on the basis of the "socialist" encyclical of the Pope is an attempt of certain sections of the American bourgeoisie to create an additional weapon of reaction. This requires our utmost attention. And in this we should stress first that we stand for the unity of action of all workers regardless of their political or church affiliations. The social demagogy of the priests can be best exposed by calling upon the Catholic workers who follow them to join with all the others to fight for the economic and political demands which serve the interests of the working masses. The united-front policy with these workers is our basic approach. We stand against the division of the forces of the working class but, on the contrary, for their united action against the exploiters.

The foregoing does not constitute an exhaustive examination of all the concrete and specific manifestations of "Americanism". It is an effort to indicate the approach and a call to examine systematically and follow up all such manifestations and to combat them *concretely and specifically*.

Our general line for struggle against the chauvinist "Americanism" of the American bourgeoisie is clear. It is unfolded in the Manifesto of the Eighth Convention of our Party on the revolutionary way out for the American people. In this Manifesto we correctly claim the revolutionary heritage of the American people, the only ones that are carrying this heritage forward. The Hearst "new" Declaration of Independence shows that this is so. It shows that the most reactionary and war-mongering circles of American capital can no longer afford to pay even lip service to the Declaration of 1776. It is the American working class and its allies, led by the Communist Party, that is keeping alive the revolutionary traditions of 1776 and of 1870. But how? Not by calling for a return to the past. That is chimerical and utopian. But by calling to march forward to the next great revolutionary change—a change which can only be a *Socialist one*, a Soviet one. And what does that mean? It means that the revolutionary traditions of 1776 and 1870 are *incorporated* in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and in the Communist program and struggles, that these traditions are living today in the banner of the Socialist revolution, in the banner of Soviet power in the United States.

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The Titans of Scientific Communism

(On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the death of Friedrich Engels.)

By V. J. JEROME

IN the ninety years that have passed since Engels, in collaboration with Marx, established the positions of scientific Communism, the locomotive of history has sped from the first opening vistas of the eventual overthrow of capitalism to the present widened prospect of a world revolutionary crisis. In the close to nine decades that have elapsed since the workers of Paris, in the glorious June days of '48, mounted the barricades in the first proletarian challenge for power, the workers and peasants of the former empire of the tsars have avenged those slaughtered Red Republicans: they have overthrown the old order and, in the face of the severest odds, have consolidated their revolutionary power under the dictatorship of the proletariat and are building with great achievements the society of Socialism.

In the course of the epochs that lie between the founding of the First International by Marx and Engels and the present period of the general crisis of capitalism, the declaration of Marxism, that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself, has evolved into the historic utterance of Stalin: "The idea of storming capitalism is maturing in the consciousness of the masses."

In looking back at the life and work of Friedrich Engels, we look back at one of the greatest personal factors in history. His perfect integration as teacher, leader, and organizer with the working class movement which brought his genius into play, rendered him a formative force in shaping the destiny, not only of the proletariat of his day, but of the world workers to this hour.

"For above all Marx was a revolutionist." This tribute, which Engels uttered over the grave of his life-long co-worker, will likewise redound forever to him who spoke it. From the outset, Communism was for Engels an imperative purpose to be achieved, through specific historic conditions to be studied, with a well worked-out strategy to be mastered and followed. His *Principles of Communism*, the first draft of *The Communist Manifesto*, opens significantly with the declaration: "Communism is the science of the conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat."

In this statement is contained the heart of scientific Communism:

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the mastery of the understanding of the factors, objective and subjective, that make for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. As far back as 1843 Marx had written to Arnold Ruge:

> "We do not, therefore, come before the world as doctrinaires with a new principle: Here is the truth, here kneel down! We develop for the world new principles from the principles of the world."

This early rejection of the idealistic approach to the question of Socialism, which represents the position of Marxism since its founding, was most definitively expounded in Marx's celebrated Preface to his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. There we find set forth the materialistic conception of history on the basis of the monistic factor—the mode of production—involving the struggle on the part of the developed productive forces for liberation from the enchainment of outgrown property relations.

> "Therefore," Marx teaches us, "mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve; since . . . the problem itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation."

Of all the forces of production Marx and Engels recognized labor power—the creator of exchange value—as preeminent. It is the owners of labor power, the modern working class, who, resisting the extraction of surplus value by the monopolist possessing class, form the "self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority". It is the exploited human category among the productive forces in the capitalist economy which consciously works out its own liberation and, in so doing, transforms the mode of production from one characterized by the final form of class antagonisms into that of the Communist, classless society.

The Marxian emphasis on the independent class role of the proletariat coincided in the 'forties with the forging of the last link in the chain of the bourgeois revolutions in Europe. The erstwhile revolutionary bourgeoisie was thenceforth to reveal itself as a reactionary force. Its Dantons and Desmoulins were from then on to appear on the scene in the hideous metamorphoses of Cavaignacs and Thiers. The rise of the British trade unions and the Chartist movement, the big strikes in France during the 'thirties and in England in 1842, the activities of the Blanquists, and the formation of the Communist League were indicative that the wage-workers were steadily shaking off the remnant illusions of fraternity with the bourgeoisie in the Third Estate and were awakening to self-recognition as a class pitted fundamentally against the bourgeoisie.

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The founders of scientific Communism developed their teachings on the revolutionary role of the proletariat in struggle against an array of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies that sought dominance over the working class. Bitter was their struggle against the conservative mutualism of Proudhon, which aimed to transform the workers into property-owners; against the petty bourgeois "True Socialism" of Karl Gruen, which sought to impede the advance of the German industrial bourgeoisie and the consequent development of the German proletariat as an independent class. Their criticism was directed, too, at the petty bourgeois utopian Socialism of Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen, despite their expressed indebtedness to the progressive features of these great Utopians. Representing variously the aspirations of the small owners, the minor peasantry, and the artisans, the Utopian Socialists, notwithstanding their devastating exposés of extant social evils, were incapable of turning their weapon of criticism into "criticism with weapons". Notwithstanding their conviction that they voiced chiefly the interests of the "most numerous and neediest class", they failed to see the proletariat in its historic role and voiced merely the lingering confusion in its ranks. Hence, they ascribed to the proletariat no class initiative capable of achieving its liberation; they were prompted, therefore, to impede the steadily developing independent political movement of the proletariat by proffering it the leadership of a benevolent elite that stood "above classes". In the words of *The Communist Manifesto*:

> "Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavor, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel."

Marx and Engels based their teachings on the postulate of the inevitability of Socialism. The Socialist society, they demonstrated, is a historically necessary resultant of the fundamental contradiction between the forces and relations of capitalist production. The specific, scientific, nature of Marxian Socialism, that which differentiates it from utopias of all kinds, is that the productive forces of capitalism resolve themselves into the material conditions and the social agent for the realization of Socialism. Marxism as the revolutionary world outlook of the proletariat, as the guide and weapon of the working class for effecting the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and for achieving the transitional dictatorship of the proletariat, can have no meaning without involving implicitly the principle of the inevitability of Socialism.

The argument has been advanced by sundry anti-Marxists that

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the theory of the inevitability of Socialism spells fatalism, that it deadens the subjective factor and runs counter to Marx's teachings as set forth especially in his *Theses on Feuerbach*. Such contentions, notwithstanding their pretense of safeguarding Marxian dialectics, reflect the time-old anti-proletarian policy of decrying the scientific status of Marxism by denying its power of prediction. Such contentions represent the bourgeois efforts to throw back modern Socialism to the pre-Marxian, utopian stage when Socialism was a vague aspiration, at best a subject for benevolent experimentation in far-off corners of the New World. Such contentions attempt to deny Socialism as a universal working class movement with a class-struggle program, strategy, and tactics designed to accelerate the victory of the proletariat; they attempt to deny the Socialism that is an actual segment—a sixth part—of the globe today.

How crassly metaphysical is the "Marxism" of the renegades and pretenders who desecrate the names of Marx and Engels with their denials of the inevitability of Socialism! Reduced to the ultimate analysis, their pseudo-Marxism can have no reference to a capitalism which is a historic phase in class society, which has developed out of an anterior social order against which it rose in revolutionary struggle, and which has "forged the weapons that bring death to itself" and "called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons". Theirs is a capitalism which exists in permanence on the principle, obviously, of the eternal verities. Theirs is a capitalism which, to break the ennui of perpetuity or, perhaps, to balk the proletariat of its revolution, may choose to recede into a past social order—feudalism, chattel slavery, or even primitive Communism. Theirs, better still, is a capitalism which may have a "revolution" without the proletariat having a hand in it. Indeed, is not such a "revolution", such an "evitability" of Socialism, the stock in trade of fascism? The Nazis trumpet their Third Reich as the great example of the non-Marxist "revolution" against capitalism. The pompous professorial purveyors of chance-"socialism", the entire philistine crew of pragmato-"Marxists"—what are they but abbetors of fascism with phrases of Socialism? Certainly, no one who holds in Marx's name that the element of inevitability renders Socialism fatalistic, can be anything but an insolent ignoramus or a conscious falsifier. No one with the merest understanding of the revolutionary character of Marxism can be unaware of the climactic declaration in *The Communist Manifesto*:

> "Its [capitalism's] fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable", and of the preceding sentence which conditions this inevitability: "What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers."

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Not only does Marxism *implicitly and explicitly* affirm the inevitable fall of capitalism and the advent of Socialism, but it postulates the inevitable victory of the working class upon the historically *inevitable* revolutionary role of the subjective factor, the proletariat.

History has magnificently confirmed the principle of the inevitability of Socialism. In the Soviet Union, established through the victorious proletarian revolution under the leadership of the Leninist Party, the Socialist society is rising before our living eyes over the debris of the shattered capitalist State. Under the guidance of Stalin, the foremost disciple of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, whose teachings he has rendered concrete and further developed in accordance with the needs of the proletariat in the era of Socialist construction, the first successful dictatorship of the proletariat has demonstrated its insuperable force as liberator and promoter of the boundless energies of the Soviet workers and peasants for the building of the Socialist society. Notwithstanding the constricting cordons thrown around the Land of Soviets by the imperialist powers; notwithstanding the boycotts, plottings, malignings, war-incitements, and intervention maneuvers of the world capitalists; notwithstanding their active collusions with the tsarist restorationists; notwithstanding the sneers, detractions, sabotage, and organized hostility of counter-revolutionary Menshevism and Trotskyism, the Soviet Union has established itself firmly on the positions of Socialism. Surrounded by a capitalist world in decline, it is now developing, in the course of its Second Five-Year Plan, toward the stage of the classless Socialist society, and stands confronting the hostile imperialist forces, confronting the fascist offensive and the growing war hysteria—a force for peace and true, proletarian democracy, buttressed by the solidarity of the masses in all lands, the challenge of inevitable world Socialism.

Marx and Engels considered as the heart of their contribution their teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat—the dialectically necessary revolutionary transition State representing the political supremacy of the proletariat in the epoch between the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the realization of the Communist society.

Marx declared this principle to be the quintessence of his teachings when he wrote in 1852 to Weydemeyer that the only new contribution he could lay claim to was the setting forth of the following propositions:

> ". . . (1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular, historic phases in the development of production*; (2)

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> that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat;* (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society.*"

The principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, whether exactly so termed or in essence, is embodied in the programmatic documents—from the earliest to the last—which Marx and Engels drew up or to which they were co-signatories.

The rules and constitution of the Communist League, drawn up in London, in 1847, to which is affixed the name of Engels as the Secretary, opens with the article:

> "The aim of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the bourgeois social order founded upon class antagonisms, and the inauguration of a new social order wherein there shall be neither classes nor private property.

Similarly, *The Communist Manifesto,* written by Marx and Engels as the platform of the Communist League, declares that "the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy".

The term "dictatorship of the proletariat" came to be employed by Marx and Engels after the experiences of the June Days in 1848, as the cited letter to Weydemeyer and the well-known passage in *The Class Struggles in France* indicate. A programmatic document, recently discovered and published in 1926 by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, revealing that a temporary union of Marxists and Blanquists took place about 1850 in the form of *The World League of Revolutionary Communists* (*Societe universelle des communistes revolutionnaires*), declares in its first article that "the aim of the union is the overthrow of all privileged classes, their subjection under the dictatorship of the proletariat".*

Finally, in the *Critique of the Gotha Program,* written toward the end of his life, and forming with *The Communist Manifesto* the outstanding programmatic documents of Marxism, Marx criticizes sharply the opportunist program adopted on the occasion of the fusion of the Eisenachist and Lassallean parties, for its failure to advance the objective of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

> "Between the capitalist and the Communist society lies a period of revolutionary transformation from the one to the other. There

* The Manuscript, which is in the French language, bears the signatures: Adam, J. Videl, K. Marx, August Willich, F. Engels, G. Julian Harney—of whom the first two represented the Blanquists.

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> corresponds also to this a political transition period, of which the State can be nothing else than *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*"

In the face of these repeated affirmations, which but accentuate the very essence of the Marxian theory of the State and proletarian revolution, how wretched is the sight of the counter-revolutionary Mensheviks who are compelled to resort to every artifice and forgery in their efforts to expunge the teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat from the writings of Marx and Engels! The wily old hypocrite, Kautsky, dean of distorters, is driven to declare that nowhere does Marx speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the Bolsheviks are reprehensible for making reference "to the words 'dictatorship of the proletariat' which Marx expressed once, but only incidentally" (!!) A slip of the pen, it would seem! (Was it to guard Marx from the consequences of his "erratic" pen, that Kautsky kept *the Critique* from seeing the light of print until, 16 years after its composition, he was forced to publish it through the insistence of Engels?)

What but a hideous bourgeois parody of Marxism is this Kautskyan "improvement" on the cited passage in the *Critique?*

> "In the interval between the purely bourgeois administration and the purely proletarian administration of a democratic State there is a period of transition from the one into the other. To this there also corresponds a political transition period, when the Government, as a rule, takes the form of a coalition government."*

Persistent opportunism, long degenerated into treachery, has turned the former flow of Marxian knowledge in this man's mind into a slough of ideological perversion and ignorance. For who that is faithful to the first letter in the teaching of Marx and Engels on the State can conceive of a fixed, seemingly non-class, "democratic State" administered now by the bourgeoisie, now by the proletariat?

We have seen the political transition period Marx speaks of and the one Kautsky speaks of. We are beholding the former in the Soviet Union—the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, the co-ordinator of the victorious revolutionary forces for the complete suppression of the overthrown exploiting class, the provider of the largest measure of democracy that ever a society has known, the promoter of Socialist construction. And we have seen the "political transition period" of Kautsky. We saw it in Germany, in Austria, in Poland, England, Spain: one by one, the coalition govern-

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* *The Proletarian Revolution and Its Program*, Stuttgart, 1922, p. 106.

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ments coalesced into fascism, into Toryism, into counter-revolution.

How devastating a refutation of the Kautskyan attempts to substitute for the dictatorship of the proletariat the legend of a supra-class "democratic State" is the retort of Lenin:

> "The class that has seized political power has done so conscious of the fact it has seized power alone. This is implicit in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This concept has meaning only when the one class knows that it alone takes political power into its own hands, and does not deceive either itself or others by talk about 'popular, generally elected government, sanctified by the whole people'."

Marx and Engels did not bring forward their theory of the State as a dogma. They developed it from phase to phase in the class struggle on the basis of the advancing practice of the European proletariat. Indeed, for a classic illustration of the dialectic unity of theory and practice as well as of the interplay of the individual and the social process, we need but look at Marx's and Engels' own development of their theory of the State—a development that cuts across two proletarian risings separated by nearly a quarter of a century.

We have seen how the experiences involved in the defeat of the Parisian proletariat in June, 1848, led the founders of scientific Communism to give concreteness to their concept of the victorious proletarian State in the definitive term "dictatorship of the proletariat". It required, however, a higher stage, a new point of departure, in the class struggle for Marxism to deepen its theory of the State and bring it to fuller development. This was occasioned by the Paris Commune. Their analysis of the defeat of the heroic Communards who had "stormed the heavens" led Marx and Engels to conclude that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery and wield it for its own purposes", that is was necessary "not merely to take over, from one set of hands to another, the bureaucratic and military machine, but to shatter it". In their notable Preface of 1872, the authors of *The Communist Manifesto* offered this as the single emendation in principle to the historic document they had written 25 years before.

In the Paris Commune Marx and Engels beheld the first, though short-lived, realization of their teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

> "Well and good, gentlemen," Engels exclaimed twenty years later in directing his attack on the Social-Democratic philistines,

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> "do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."*

The founders of scientific Communism saw in the Commune the State "that was no longer a State in the proper sense of the word", but "a transitional phenomenon which must be made use of in the struggle of the revolution in order forcibly to crush our antagonists".

> "As long as the proletariat still *needs* the State", Engels wrote in 1875, in retort to the anarchists and all those who chattered about a "free State", "it needs it, not in the interests of freedom, but for the purpose of crushing its antagonists; and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom, then the State, as such, ceases to exist."

The profound meaningfulness of these words is borne out in the victorious proletarian State established by the October Revolution —the second, Soviet, stage, as Lenin characterized it, in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which the Paris Commune was the first.

The inheritor of the revolutionary traditions of 1871 and the embodiment of all the splendid fulfillments from which the blade of counter-revolution cut off the Commune is the flourishing Soviet power in the land where the workers and peasants rule.

Marx and Engels developed their theory of the State in the epoch of pre-monopoly capital. While they enunciated the basic principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was not possible for them, however, to foresee the specific form which the revolutionary dictatorship would assume in the hour of proletarian victory. The concrete form of the dictatorship of the proletariat was hammered out only when the domination of monopolistic finance capital, grown out of free competition, intensified the contradictions of capitalism, rendering the bourgeois system moribund and placing the question of proletarian seizure of power on the order of the day. The deepening, the concretization, and the further development of the Marxian teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat was the work of Lenin, restorer and guardian of revolutionary Marxism, historic counterpart of Marx and Engels in the stage of decaying world capitalism and the epoch of proletarian revolution.

Lenin rescued the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat

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* It is significant that in publishing the third (1891) edition of Marx's *The Civil War in France*, the German Social-Democratic Party substituted, without Engels' authorization, in his preface, where the above-cited words occur, the expression "German philistine" for "Social-Democratic philistine".

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from the limbo to which it had been consigned by the opportunist leaders of the Second International. The parties of the International had dispensed with the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" in their programs. With the helpful "opposition" of Kautskyan Centrism, the Revisionist Bernstein, who contended that "the word *dictatorship* has outlived its usefulness", had to all intents and purposes supplanted the teaching of Marx and Engels in the theory and practice of official Social-Democracy.

Lenin set out boldly against the opportunists by declaring that one is not yet a Marxist if he recognizes only the class struggle, but that only he is a Marxist who extends that recognition to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin revitalized the revolutionary traditions of the Paris Commune. In an article, *The Commune of* 1871 *and the December Uprising of* 1905, Lenin took Plekhanov to task for having declared of the Russian workers: "They should not have resorted to arms." Against the faint-heartedness of the Menshevik, Lenin contraposed the position Marx had taken with regard to the Paris Communards (whom he had warned six months before the Commune), showing how he had hailed their heroism and valued their historical initiative.

Lenin not only resuscitated the Marxian teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat, but contributed to it new elements, deepening and developing it further. In his interview with the first American Labor Delegation in Russia*, Comrade Stalin gave the following masterly summation of those new elements:

> "Lenin's new contribution in this field consists in that (a) utilizing the experience of the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution, he discovered the Soviet form of government as the State form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; (b) he deciphered the formula of dictatorship of the proletariat from the point of view of the problem of the proletariat and its allies and defined the dictatorship of the proletariat as a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, who is the leader, and the exploited masses of the non-proletarian classes (the peasantry, etc.), who are led; (c) he stressed with particular emphasis the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a higher type of democracy in class society, the form of ***proletarian*** democracy, expressing the interests of the majority (the exploited), as against capitalist democracy, which expresses the interests of the minority (the exploiters)."

The Marxist-Leninist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat was enriched, rendered concrete, and further developed in

* On September 9, 1927.

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the epoch of Socialist construction by Lenin's comrade in struggle and the guardian of his teachings, Stalin.

Comrade Stalin developed further the theory of the revolutionary transition period from capitalism to the classless society. He concretized the forms of the class struggle which the proletariat must wage in the successive stages of Socialist construction. On the basis of the Leninist principle of the accelerated uneven economic and political development of capitalism in the conditions of imperialism—a principle, which Stalin emphasized as basic in Leninism and which he guarded in merciless struggle, particularly against distortions of Trotskyism*—he developed further Lenin's teaching on the possibility of building Socialism in one country. Stalin proved conclusively—and events have incontestably endorsed his position—that whoever denies in the epoch of imperialism the possibility of building Socialism in one country, denies thereby the very principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and sets himself in opposition to it.

The Socialist construction by the Soviet masses under the dictatorship of the proletariat, now in the eighteenth year of its power, is the phenomenon of all the centuries; while Trotskyism, which has long ceased to be a faction of Communism, has degenerated into an anti-Soviet camp, the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

How shall the proletariat prepare itself for the seizure of power? Shall it proceed alone, as an isolated class, and pit itself against the forces of capitalism?

Marx and Engels, on the basis of the experiences of 1848, early concluded that the proletariat can advance effectively as a revolutionary force only in alliance with the non-proletarian toilers, primarily the peasantry, as well as with the national-liberation movements—an alliance in which it exercises hegemony. In his *Eighteenth Brumaire* Marx declared that, since on the basis of capitalist economy the peasantry finds its interests coming into conflict with those of the bourgeoisie, it "thus finds its natural ally and leader in the *city proletariat* whose historic task is the overthrow of the bourgeois order of society".

The question of rallying to itself its natural allies was presented

* At the Fifteenth Conference of the C.P.S.U. Trotsky took the position that in the nineteenth century the uneven development of capitalism was greater than in the present, while Zinoviev declared: "It is not true that the unevenness of the capitalist development was less till the beginning of the imperialist epoch."

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to the proletariat by Marx and Engels as a central principle in its revolutionary strategy.

> "The whole outcome of the affair in Germany," Marx writes to Engels in 1856, "will depend on the possibility of the proletarian revolution giving its support, for a second edition, as it were, of the peasant war."

A year before his death, in an article entitled *"The Peasant Problem in France and Germany"*, Engels thus presented the Marxian position on the toiling peasantry in the period following the proletarian seizure of power:

> "When we are in possession of the powers of the State, we shall not even dream of forcibly expropriating the poorer peasants, the small-holders (with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in relation to the large landowners. Our task as regards the small-holders will first of all consist in transforming their individual production and individual ownership into cooperative production and cooperative ownership, not forcibly, but by way of example, and by offering social aid for this purpose. We shall then have the means of showing the peasant all the advantages of this change—advantages which even now should be obvious to him."*

This passage, which Lenin quotes in his *The Teachings of Karl Marx*, is highly significant in that it explicitly presents the Marxian position on the toiling peasantry as extending to the period following the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. It is the prophecy of the genius of historical materialism which is now being realized in the Bolshevik collectivization of the peasantry under the guidance of Comrade Stalin.

In developing further the Marxian teaching on the class allies of the proletariat to bring it into consistency with the advanced needs of the working class in the epoch of proletarian revolutions, Lenin thus set forth his theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a *special form of class alliance* between the proletariat, the vanguard of the toilers, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of toilers (the petty bourgeoisie, the small masters, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these."

This formulation represents one of the principal elements in Lenin's further development of the Marxian teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the class allies of the proletariat. The full essence of this formulation has served veritably as an acid

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* *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, 1894, pp. 301-302.

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test to detect every brand of opportunism that tried to drape itself with the banner of Marx and Lenin.

For, in the same manner as Marx and Engels could advance their teachings only through struggle, and had to guard them constantly against adulteration by alien class influences, Leninism has had to wage a fierce struggle on two fronts against various carriers of anti-proletarian theories into the ranks of the working class. And in the same manner as Lenin developed the teachings of Marx and Engels in the course of guarding them zealously against petty-bourgeois infiltrations, Stalin has developed Lenin's teachings in the course of guarding their integrity against a host of opportunist distorters.

Thus, Stalin had occasion to take Zinoviev to task for his petty-bourgeois distortion of the Leninist teaching on the class allies of the proletariat in declaring that "the question of the role of the peasantry is the fundamental question of Bolshevism, of Leninism".

Stalin corrects Zinoviev, showing that in Lenin's own words the dictatorship of the proletariat is "the root content of the revolution". "The peasant question, as the question of the ally of the proletariat in its struggle for power," Stalin points out, "is a secondary question resulting from the fundamental question." (*Problems of Leninism.*)

As the other side of this opportunist medal, we have Trotsky's theory, as expressed, for instance, in his 1922 Preface to his work *The Year* 1905, that in exercising its dictatorship, "the proletariat will come into hostile collision, not only with the bourgeois groupings which supported the proletariat during the first stages of revolutionary struggle, but also with the broad masses of the peasants who were instrumental in bringing it to power". Hence, Trotsky concludes: "The contradictions in the situation of the workers' government in a backward country with an overwhelming majority of peasants can be solved only on an international scale, on the arena of world proletarian revolution."

Keen to the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist character of Trotsky's position on the peasantry, Stalin directed against it merciless criticism. With incisive analysis he showed that the *alliance* which, in Leninism, represents the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is turned in Trotskyism into a hostile collision. He showed that Trotsky's glib talk about "world proletarian revolution" (his much trumpeted "permanent revolution") is nothing but a high-sounding rationalization of his low Menshevist mistrust both of the power of the proletariat to achieve hegemony over the toiling peasants and of the revolutionary capacities inherent in the peasantry, that, in the final analysis, it is nothing but a repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the heart of the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

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The victorious outcome of the proletarian revolution requires as a decisive pre-condition the directing force of the political leader of the working class, the proletarian Party. The Party as the lever of the subjective factors of the revolution is implicit in the Marxian teaching on the class struggle and the achievement of Socialism. Hence, the founders of scientific Communism were not only the great theoreticians of the working class but also the organizers and leaders of its Party. In 1847 Marx and Engels were instrumental in organizing the Communist League, the first international proletarian Party, whose program, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (popularly come to be termed *The Communist Manifesto*), they were commissioned to compose. The *Manifesto* presented the principle of the Party as the vanguard of the working class, as representing the interests of the proletariat as a whole, as envisaging the historically necessary outcome of Socialism and propelling the movement of the working class through day-to-day struggles toward that outcome:

> "The Communists, therefore are, on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."

The defeat of the revolutionary movement of 1848 set back for a number of years the building of the proletarian Party. The revival of the working class movement in England, France and Germany, the American Civil War,* and the growing consciousness of international proletarian solidarity, as expressed notably by the mass working class sympathy in the advanced European countries for the Polish insurrection of 1863, evidenced the need for an international Party of the proletariat. In 1864 Marx and Engels founded the International Workingmen's Association (the First International), which became for the space of a decade "the motive force behind the whole of the European and American working class movement" (Engels).

Due to the still undeveloped stage of the labor movement at the time of the founding of the International, it was not possible for Marx and Engels to bring forward boldly their principles of the proletarian Party as enunciated in *The Communist Manifesto* or in Marx's masterly Inaugural Address, which adhered to the basic

* In the preface to the first edition of *Capital I*, Marx states that the American Civil War inspired the resurgence of the labor movement in Europe.

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principles of the *Manifesto*.* The International was more in the nature of a merger of various working class groupings, which included, besides the Marxists, British trade unionists, Latin Proudhonists and Bakuninists, and German Lassalleans. Shortly before its dissolution, Engels characterized the International as "this naive conjunction of all fractions". [Letter to Sorge, September 12 (and 17), 1874]. But he and Marx made it their task to work within the International and to educate its activities in the spirit of *The Communist Manifesto*. As Marx wrote to Bolte** in 1871: "The *International* was founded in order to replace the Socialist or semi-Socialist sects by a real organization of the working class for struggle." With that as their purpose, Marx and Engels devoted themselves within the organization to making the working class conscious of the political character of its daily struggles for immediate demands, to carry into the midst of the International the principle of the Socialist revolution, to transform it into the Communist Party. In thus laying the basis for the international proletarian struggle for Socialism, the First International represents the great precursor of the Third, Communist, International, founded by Lenin.

The struggle of Marxism for the integrity of the Party was necessarily from the outset a struggle against opportunism both of the Right and the "Left" brands. This struggle on two fronts is the purifying force which Lenin revitalized in forging world Bolshevism; it is the war of extermination which Stalin has relentlessly waged and taught every Communist Party to wage against the Right and "Left" deviators from Marxism-Leninism and against all conciliators to opportunism.

In the early Communist League, while conducting a struggle against the influence of the bourgeois economists, particularly of Sismondi, and against the petty-bourgeois quasi-Socialist sects of every variety, Marx and Engels waged a struggle against the "Leftist" Willich-Schapper faction which advocated notions of putschism, shortly after the defeat of the proletariat in 1848. The history of the First International is one long record of fierce conflicts on the part of the Marxists against the opportunist groupings ranged

* Upon the adoption of the Constitution of the International, Marx wrote to Engels: "All my suggestions were adopted by the sub-committee. I was compelled to insert into the Constitution some phrases about 'rights' and 'duties', as well as 'truth, morality, and justice', but all this is so placed that it is not likely to bring any harm."

** Residing in the United States; Member of the Provisional Federal Council of the First International, the headquarters of which were at that time and until the dissolution of the organization in New York.

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on two fronts—reformist pure-and-simple British Trade Unionists; Proudhonist petty-bourgeois co-operativists, Lassallean "Royal Prussian Socialists"; and Bakuninist anti-authoritarians, whose main dogma was rejection of political action.

In the years following the First International, until the end of their lives, Marx and Engels devoted themselves zealously to maintaining the purity of the working class Party, paying special attention to the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, where the proletariat, due to specific historic conditions, constituted after the defeat of the Commune, the vanguard of the working class struggle. Their sharp critical analyses of the Party programs, and their continuous letters of criticism to Bebel and the elder Liebknecht as well as to other Party leaders, warning them of the growing incursion of the petty-bourgeois ideology into the Party and chiding them for their frequent conciliatoriness, belong to the most valuable weapons in the arsenal of revolutionary Marxism.

The necessity of waging relentless struggle to safeguard the Marxist base of the Party was resolved by Engels into the celebrated formula of "the three sides of struggle", in which, to the generally accepted political and economic forms of struggle, there is added the theoretical form. In 1874, in discussing the advantages of the German labor movement, Engels wrote:

> "For the first time in the history of the labor movement the struggle is being so conducted that its three sides, the theoretical, the political, and the practical economic (resistance to the capitalists), form one harmonious and well-planned entity. In this concentric attack, as it were, lies the strength and invincibility of the German movement. . . . It is the specific duty of the leaders to gain an ever clearer understanding of the theoretical problems, to free themselves more and more from the influence of the traditional phrases inherited from the old conception of the world, and constantly to keep in mind that Socialism, having become a science, demands the same treatment as every other science—it must be studied. The task of the leaders will be to bring understanding thus acquired and clarified, to the working masses, to spread it with increased enthusiasm, to close the ranks of the Party organizations and of the labor unions with ever greater energy. . . .
>
> "In the first place, however, it is necessary to retain a real international spirit, which permits of no chauvinism, which joyfully greets each new step of the proletarian movement, no matter in which nation it is made. If the German workers proceed in this way, they may not march exactly at the head of the movement—it is not in the interest of the movement that the workers of one country should march at the head of all—but they will occupy an honorable place on the battle line, and they will stand armed for battle when other unexpected grave trials or momentous events will

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demand heightened courage, heightened determination, and the will to act." *

But the decisive leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party eventually traduced the teachings of Marx and Engels. For the task of spreading the Marxian teachings among the masses, they substituted the policy of obscurantism, withholding certain works of Marx and Engels from the light of print (subjecting them, as Marx himself had occasion to declare, "to the gnawing criticism of mice"), perpetrating forgeries on others to despoil them of revolutionary content and pervert them into textual authority for their opportunist practice."** Instead of freeing themselves "from the influence of the traditional phrases inherited from the old conception of the world", they steadily capitulated on an outlook reflecting petty-bourgeois aspirations. For "a real international spirit which permits of no chauvinism", they substituted their act of August, 1914. For the task of closing the ranks of the working class, they substituted a policy of splitting the workers' ranks, urging unity with the parties of capital; of leaving the workers disarmed for battle in the moment of "grave trials"—of paving the road for the fascist offensive.

Only the Communist Party of Germany, the Party of the martyred Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the Party of Thaelmann—chained proletarian Prometheus whom a world of toilers' hands is reaching out to set free—carries on the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels. Only the heroic illegal Bolshevik Party of Germany, loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, is the revolutionary leader of the German workers—their tocsin to struggle against the terrorist regime of fascism and its frenzied war drive, their summoner to close ranks in a steeled united front for the decisive conflict, their unifier in the struggle for a Soviet Germany.

In their deep concern for the purity of the Party, Marx and Engels did not flinch before the prospect of an eventual split. Proceeding from the dialectic principle enunciated by Hegel that a party capable of surviving a split proves itself victorious thereby, they recognized that the penetration of petty-bourgeois ideas into the Party, if unchecked, would inevitably bring about a schism as the only recourse to save the Party for the proletariat. A year before Marx's death, Engels wrote to Bebel:

* Author's Preface to the second edition of *The Peasant War in Germany*.

** Notorious in this respect is the forged version of Engels' 1895 Preface to Marx's *Class Struggles in France*, which in 1924 was exposed by the Marx-Engels Institute, through whose efforts the world proletariat is now in possession of *Engels'* document.

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> "That sooner or later it will come to a clash with the bourgeois elements in the Party, and to a split into a Right and Left wing, I haven't had the slightest illusions for a long time, and in a note regarding the article in the *Jahrbuch* I bluntly said that I considered it *desirable*. . . . One thing you can be entirely sure of: If it will come to a clash with these gentlemen and the Left wing of the Party will open its cards, we [Marx and I] will, under all circumstances, go with you—and actively, with the visors up."

"We must not allow ourselves to be misled by cries about 'unity'," Engels warned Bebel against the danger of consolidation with the Lassalleans. There are things that stand higher than unity, Engels proclaimed, namely, revolutionary principles. Unprincipled unity is disunity, for it binds the working class to alien class interests and thus prevents its unification in behalf of its own interests. Hence, Marx wrote to Bracke in the letter accompanying his *Critique of the Gotha Program*:

> "The leaders of the Lassalleans came to us because circumstances forced them to do so. If it had been explained to them beforehand that there would be no truck with hagglers on principles, they would have had to cont-nt themselves with a program of action or a plan of organization for joint action."

How significant this great lesson is to the workers throughout the capitalist world today in their struggle for the united front! How eloquently these words attest to the continuity and further development of the Marxian teaching on working class strategy and tactics in the program of the Leninist Parties!

In the letter to Sorge cited above, Engels wrote: "I think that the next International—after Marx's writings have had some years of influence—will be directly Communist and will openly proclaim our principles. . . ."

But the requisite conditions for the realization of this prediction were still far off. As history has shown, it required another stage before that "next" International, which would be "directly Communist", could be realized; before the historic moment when, under the direct leadership of Lenin, the Comintern, the only true heir of the First International and of all the traditions of Marx and Engels, could be founded.

The Second International, founded in 1889, symbolized a considerable advance over the First International in the growth of the world labor movement. Its component Socialist Parties were mass parties in the true sense and were representative of a consider-

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able number of countries. In its initial, progressive phase it thus served to lay the foundation for an extended international organization of the working class. But the decisive leadership of the International and of its major Parties flinched from the task outlined for them by Marx and Engels of effectively combatting the encroaching opportunism which reflected the pressure of imperialist ideology into the working class ranks on the basis of the newly crystalized labor aristocracy. (Through its monopolist position in the world market and through the super-profits which it extracted from the super-exploited colonial peoples, imperialism found it possible to extend certain economic and social advantages—at bottom synonomous with bribe—to a thin, but influential, stratum of the working class, the labor aristocracy, which, in turn, became the base for its ideological operations within the workers' ranks.)

Notwithstanding the more intensive exploitation of the working class with the transformation of pre-monopoly capitalism into imperialism, the Socialist Parties of the Second International became more and more tinged in their program of action with the petty-bourgeois outlook of the labor aristocrat elements, who became the main bulwark of Social-Democracy. Even before the imperialist World War, the Social-Democratic Parties had ceased to be parties of the proletariat; they had become, as Stalin characterized them, blocs of mixed class interests. In his classic analysis of the degeneration of Social-Democracy Comrade Stalin presents six inalienable attributes of the political leader of the proletariat, the absence of which in the parties of the Second International disqualified them as leaders of the working class in the period of approaching revolutionary battles. The six distinguishing features may be summed up as: (1) the Party as the vanguard of the working class—the political leader, yet a unit of the class intimately connected with the non-party masses; (2) the Party as the organized detachment of the working class—the sum total of the Party organizations, yet itself a single, well-defined system of these organizations; (3) the Party as the highest form of class organization of the proletariat—the central organization which, by its recognized authority, extends political leadership to every other organization of the working class; (4) the Party as the weapon of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—for the achievement of the dictatorship, and for maintaining and extending it in order to consolidate the revolutionary forces and achieve the complete victory of Socialism; (5) the Party as the expression of unity of will, which is incompatible with the existence of factions, and which postulates the principle of iron discipline; (6) the Party as being strengthened by purging itself of opportunist elements.

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The break with opportunism, Lenin urged as far back as at the turn of the present century, was imperative on an international scale.

It should be borne in mind that in one of his very last writings, in 1894, Engels declared the inadequacy of the term *Social-Democrat* for expressing the aims of the proletarian Party, "whose economic program is not merely generally Socialist, but directly Communist, and whose politically ultimate goal is the overcoming of the entire State, as also that of democracy".*

Lenin founded the "Party of the new type".

In bringing into being the Bolshevik Party, Lenin developed the teachings of Marx and Engels on the Party of the proletariat. The Leninist Party was based on the advanced needs of the working class in an epoch which was historically beyond the stage in which Marx and Engels lived and worked. While they presented the main outlines of the Party, its specific structure and its role in the stage of preparing for the approaching revolutionary battles and in the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat had necessarily to be determined. The Communist Party had to qualify in respect to all the requisite attributes which had been found wanting in Social-Democracy.

In his interview with the first American Labor Delegation to Russia, Stalin presented the following four points as representing Lenin's further development of the Marxian teaching on the Party:

> ". . . (a) that the Party is a higher form of the class organization of the proletariat as compared with the other forms of proletarian organization (labor unions, cooperative societies, state organization) and, moreover, its function is to generalize and direct the work of these organizations; (b) that the dictatorship of the proletariat may be realized only through the Party as its directing force; (c) that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be complete only if it is led by a single party, the Communist Party, which does not and must not share leadership with any other party; and (d) that without iron discipline in the Party, the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat to crush the exploiters and to transform class society into socialist society cannot be fulfilled."

In the epoch of Socialist construction, Comrade Stalin enriched and developed further Lenin's teaching on the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By his masterly guidance of the Party in its leadership of the gigantic tasks of Socialist construction, he has added new contributions to the Leninist principles of Party strategy and tactics. In his magnificent struggle on two fronts against Right opportunism and counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, he developed further the Leninist teachings on the social and ideo-

* Preface to *Internationales aus dem Volksstaat*, January, 1894.

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logical roots of opportunism. On the basis of the Leninist law of accelerated uneven development of capitalism and inter-imperialist conflicts in the present epoch, which he has concretized and enriched, he has developed further the teachings of Lenin on the building of Socialism in one country, on the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry in the period of Socialist construction, and the building of the classless Socialist society.

It was under the leadership of Comrade Stalin and through his signal contributions to the Leninist teachings on the national and colonial question, that the principles of the revolutionary, democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in the colonial countries was rendered concrete and was further developed, as is notably instanced in the fundamental laws of the Chinese Soviets.

The working class of the world and the Communist Parties everywhere are indebted to Comrade Stalin for the clear-sighted Marxist-Lenist analysis which he gave in 1925, of the temporary, partial, and relative character of capitalist stabilization, which, as he pointed out, was bound to lead to an intensification of the antagonisms between the imperialist groups, between the workers and the exploiters in every capitalist land, and between imperialism and the colonial peoples. Comrade Stalin's analysis was confirmed soon afterwards by the ending of the capitalist stabilization.

Stalin has developed further the Marxist-Leninist tactic of the working class in the struggle against imperialist war and in the utilization of the inter-imperialist conflicts. With the brilliance of a master strategist he has enriched the Leninist revolutionary peace policy and the foreign policy of the proletarian State in the conditions of Socialist construction in a single country surrounded by hostile imperialist powers. In the face of the repeated incitations of imperialist militarist cliques; in the face of the Trotskyist counter-revolutionary yelping about "Red imperialism"; in spite of the efforts of fascists, whiteguards, renegades, and reactionaries of all stripes, to bring about ruptures in the Soviet trade and peace pacts with other States, the peace policy of the Soviet Union, under the guidance of Comrade Stalin, has achieved decisive victories and has earned the admiration and profound sympathy of the world toilers.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. and the American working class as a whole are indebted to Comrade Stalin for his direct guidance in the course of his prediction, early in 1929, that the United States, like the rest of the capitalist world, would soon be in the grip of a severe economic crisis. ("The three million now unemployed in America", he foretold with keen Marxist-Leninist analysis, "are the first swallows indicating the ripening of the economic crisis in America.")

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In making this prognosis, he roused our Party to the consciousness of its task as "one of those few Communist Parties in the world upon which history has laid tasks of a decisive character from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement".

> "I think the moment is not far off," Comrade Stalin declared, "when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America. And when a revolutionary crisis develops in America, that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole. It is essential that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment fully prepared and of assuming the leadership of the impending class struggle in America." *

But to shoulder its tasks as vanguard, our Party had to rid itself of its corroding factionalism; it had to rid itself of the Right opportunist Lovestone leadership which was impregnated with imperialist theories of American exceptionalism as regards the world economic crisis to the point of defying the leadership and authority of the Comintern. The firm, Bolshevik leadership of the Comintern put an end to the factionalism in the American Party. Under its guidance, the C.P.U.S.A., unified and more deeply rooted in the American working class, is advancing on the road to complete Bolshevization. Through rendering increasing leadership to the workers' struggles, it is rapidly growing in authority among the masses, awakening in them class consciousness and the urge of unifying their fighting ranks in preparation for the historic moment of which Comrade Stalin spoke.

The teachings of Marx and Engels, further developed and embodied in Bolshevism, are the heritage of the world proletariat. The International Workingmen's Association, organized and led by Marx and Engels, lives again, consummated in theory, and vastly enhanced in magnitude and power, in the Communist International, whose founding took place under the direct leadership of Lenin.

Leninism can be nothing else but the guide to action for the working class of the entire world. Lenin proclaimed Bolshevism to be *World Bolshevism*. The most comprehensive and only scientific definition of Leninism, the definition formulated by Comrade Stalin, declares: "Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution." In that it is Marxism, Leninism, therefore, inherits the international character and traditions of the teachings and life-work of Marx and Engels. In that it is a phenomenon of the imperialist epoch, the realm of Leninism is the international scope of imperialism: Leninism is based on the

* Speech delivered in the American Commission of the Presidum of the E.C.C.I., May 6, 1929.

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laws of motion of declining *world capitalism*. In that it is the theory and practice of the working class in the epoch of the proletarian revolution, Leninism confirms its international essence upon the arena of world-wide proletarian revolutionary struggle. It confirms it in the revolutionary class battles which have convulsed country after country throughout the capitalist world, yielding to the international proletariat the Soviet Union, and which are bound to produce new Soviet outcomes in the approaching second round of wars and revolutions.

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The Meaning of Engels' Teachings for the American Working Class

By B. K. GEBERT

MARX and Engels, founders of scientific Socialism, are linked together, not only because Marxism is their joint creation, but also because they gave through their mutual friendship and close collaboration an example of collective work. We cannot speak of the one without thinking and speaking of the other.

The epochal meaning of Marx and Engels lies in the fact that they were simultaneously great thinkers and organizers of the working class. They were a living embodiment of the unity of revolutionary theory and practice. In this respect they were giants of history. They were not only leaders and teachers of the international working class, the organizers of the First International, but it can be truly said that they were actually leaders of the working class of the world. The study of the programs of Marx and Engels, their directives and instructions to the leaders of the working class in the different countries, showed full knowledge and understanding not only of theoretical problems but of the immediate practical problems facing the oppressed masses. It is because of this that they contributed immensely to the development of the revolutionary movements in the different countries. The specific contributions of Marx and Engels to the American working class in the second half of the nineteenth century essentially holds good even today, especially their estimates of the objective forces of the American revolution and their theory of the way these forces would develop.

On the fortieth anniversary of the death of Friedrich Engels it is most appropriate that the working class of our Party in particular shall be acquainted with the views of Engels on the problems of the American labor movement—to absorb this valuable contributions to the development of the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in the United States. Engels clearly defined the future role of America in the class struggle, foreseeing and stressing the historic role of the United States. In his third, 1890, preface to the German edition of *The Communist Manifesto*, he says:

> "At the time when the Manifesto was composed, Russia constituted the last great bulwark of European reaction, and the United

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States absorbed, in the form of countless emigrants, the surplus of the European proletariat. Both countries provided Western Europe with raw materials and simultaneously, both countries served as markets for the sale of European manufactured goods. Both, therefore, in one way or another, were pillars of the European social order.

"What a change has taken place since then! European emigration has promoted the unprecedented growth of agriculture in North America, which in its turn, by becoming a competitor of European agriculture, has shaken the landed interests of Europe (great and small alike) to their very foundations. Again, the development of farming in the United States has made it possible to exploit the vast industrial resources of the country so effectively that, before long, American competition will put an end to the monopoly hitherto exercised by Western Europe in the realm of industry. These two courses of evolution react in their turn upon the United States, tending to force that country likewise into revolutionary paths. More and more do the small and medium-sized farms, the warp and woof of the whole political system, tend to be submerged by the competition of large-scale undertakings. Simultaneously in the field of industry, we are witnessing the emergence of a multitudinous proletariat and a fabulous concentration of capital."

Further on in the preface we have the famous prophecy of Engels:

"The Russian revolution sounds the signal for a workers' revolution in the West so that each becomes the complement of the other, then the prevailing form of communal ownership of land in Russia may serve as the starting point for a Communist course of development."

The correctness of the analysis of the development in the United States and in Russia contained in these statements have already been proved by history.

The program of the Communist International characterizes the present position of American imperialism in the following words:

"The shifting of the economic center of the world to the United States of America and the fact of the 'Dollar Republic' having become a world exploiter have caused the relations between the United States and European capitalism, particularly British capitalism, to become strained."

"Russia, the great bulwark of reaction," became, thanks to the Bolshevik revolution, the citadel of the World Revolution.

ON THE NATURE OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

Engels carried on a correspondence with Friedrich Sorge, who lived in New York and was a member of the General Council of the International Workmen's Association (The First International),

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and also with Mrs. Florence Kelly Wischnewetsky. Sorge, before his death, was able to obtain these letters written to Mrs. Wischnewetsky and together with his own, placed them in a New York public library.

Engels clearly points out the growing sharp class contradictions which inevitably lead to the revolutionization of the American workers. In one of his letters to Sorge, dated January 6, 1888, he writes:

> "As for those wise Americans who think their country exempt from the consequences of fully expanded capitalist production, they seem to live in blissful ignorance of the fact that sundry states, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, etc. have such an institution as a Labor Bureau from the reports of which they might learn something to the contrary."

The industrial development of the United States, with the absence of an antecedent feudal order, with tremendous natural resources and rich soil, with high wages as compared with Europe, with mass emigration of European labor, together with the cheap Negro labor power in the south, were primarily responsible for the gigantic development of the means of production and the growth of the concentration of capital.

Engels writes about this development to Mrs. Wischnewetsky on June 3, 1883:

> "Here everyone could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading with his own means, for his own account. And because there were not, as yet, classes with opposing interests, our and your bourgeois thought that America stood above class antagonisms and struggles."

Although the objective conditions since then have been changed entirely and there no longer exist the possibilities of which Engels speaks in the year 1883, nevertheless the influence of the past, to employ a metaphor from Marx, rests as heavily as the Alps upon the minds of a large section of the American masses. It finds its expression today in the "rugged individualism" of Hoover.

Engels explains the specific characteristics of American history and the reason for the well-known contempt for theory in a letter to Sorge dated September 16, 1886:

> "In a country as elemental as America, which has developed in a purely bourgeois fashion without any feudal past, but has taken over from England a mass ideology surviving from the feudal period, such as English Common law, religion and sectarianism, and in which the necessity of practical work and of the concentration of capital has produced a general contempt for all theories, which is only now beginning to disappear in educated and scientific

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> circles, in such a country the people must come to realize their own social interests by making mistake after mistake. Nor will the workers be spared that; the confusion of trade unions, socialists, Knights of Labor, etc., will continue for some time to come, and they will only learn by injuring themselves. But the chief thing is that they have been set in motion. . . ."

The growth of the industrial development of the country was accompanied by a merciless exploitation of labor. The history of the American labor movement is a history of the revolutionary struggles of the workers, not always clear as to their historic role as a class, *but always militant and heroic!* That is why Engels in the above-cited letter greets with enthusiasm the fact that the American masses had been set in motion especially around the struggle for the eight-hour day, which culminated in the general strikes in a number of industrial cities around May 1, 1886. Therefore, Engels pays special attention to the problems of the development of the working class movement and the building of the trade unions. On February 8, 1890, he writes to Sorge:

> "The Schleswig-Holsteiners and their descendents in England and America are not to be converted by lecturing, this pig-headed and conceited lot have got to experience it on their own bodies. And this they are doing more and more every year, but they are born conservatives—just because America is so purely bourgeois, so entirely without a feudal past and therefore proud of its purely bourgeois organization—and so they will only get quit of the old traditional mental rubbish by practical experience. Hence the trade unions, etc., are the things to begin with if there is to be a mass movement, and every further step must be forced upon them by a defeat. But once the first step beyond the bourgeois point of view has been taken things will move quickly, like everything in America. . . ."

In the developing movement of the workers in America, Engels pays special attention to the question of the development among the native American workers, without whom there is no possibility for revolutionary development in America. Engels was even accused by some of the German emigrants as one who "shows preference for the 100 per cent Americans".

On March 30, 1892, Engels wrote to Herman Schlueter:

> "Your great obstacle in America, it seems to me, lies in the exceptional position of the native workers. Up to 1848 one could only speak of the permanent native working class as an exception: the small beginnings of it in the cities in the East always had still the hope of becoming farmers or bourgeois. Now a working class has developed and has also to a great extent organized itself on trade union lines. But it still takes up an aristocratic attitude and wherever possible leaves the ordinary badly paid occupations to the immigrants, of whom only a small section enter the aristocratic

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trade unions. But these immigrants are divided into different nationalities and understand neither one another, nor, for the most part, the language of the country. And your bourgeoisie knows much better even than the Austrian government how to play off one nationality against the other: Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irish, and each one against the other, so that differences in the standard of life of different workers exist, I believe, in New York to an extent unheard of elsewhere. . . .

"In such a country, continually renewed waves of advance, followed by equally certain set-backs, are inevitable. Only the advancing waves are always becoming more powerful, the set-backs less paralyzing, and on the whole the thing moves forward all the same. But this I consider certain: the purely bourgeois basis, with no pre-bourgeois swindle behind it, the corresponding colossal energy of the development, which manifests itself even in the mad exaggeration of the present protective tariff system, will one day bring about a change which will astound the whole world. Once the Americans get started it will be with an energy and violence compared with which we in Europe shall be mere children."

The privileged position of the aristocracy of labor, of which Engels speaks, has, since 1892, changed with the introduction of the belt system and mass production. The strata of the aristocracy of labor has become thinner and thinner, and as a consequence, the unification of the American working class has proceeded apace, and the division between the native and foreign labor is not as sharp as it was four decades ago.

ON TRADE UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

In another letter to Sorge, dated April 29, 1886, Engels declared:

"The entrance of the masses of native workers into the movement in America is for me one of the great events of 1886."

This holds as true today as it did in 1886, and to a greater extent than ever. Engels saw in trade unionism not an end in itself, as the pure-and-simple trade unionist' attempt to interpret the role and character of the trade unions. His teachings on trade unionism is diametrically opposed to the position of Samuel Gompers and his heir William Green, with their whole policy of class collaboration which hampers even the struggle for the immediate economic demands of the masses.

Engels polemized sharply against this tendency, just as Lenin carried on the struggle in Russia against the economists. In America there are many who look upon the trade unions only in the sense that their main function is to obtain "a fair day's wage for a fair

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day's work". Engels, on the contrary, raised the revolutionary watchword "the abolition of the wage system", in an article in the English trade-union organ, *The Labor Standard* (June 4, 1881), he wrote:

> "Thus, there are two points which the organized trades would do well to consider: Firstly, that the time is rapidly approaching when the working class will have to understand that the struggle for high wages and short hours, and the whole action of the trade unions as now carried on, is not an end in itself, but a means, a very necessary and effective means, but only one of several means towards a higher end—*the abolition of the wages system altogether.*"

Engels' prime interest was in the development of a mass movement of the native American workers in opposition to the bourgeoisie in breaking away the workers from the influence of the bourgeoisie, to set them on the revolutionary road in the struggle against capitalism. This runs like a red thread through all the letters written by him to friends in America. In a letter to Sorge, dated September 16, 1887, he writes:

> "In spite of all, the masses can only be set in motion in a way suitable to the respective countries and adopted to the prevailing conditions—and this is unusually a roundabout way. But everything else is of minor importance if only they are really aroused."

And, therefore, he greets every sign of the movement developing among the workers, as we see clearly in a letter to Mrs. Wischnewetsky, dated September 15, 1887:

> "Fortunately the movement in America has now got such a start that neither George, nor Powderly, nor the German intriguers can spoil it. Only it will take unexpected forms. The real movement always looks different to what it ought to have done in the eyes of those who were tools in preparing it."

Engels was confident that the American workers would learn and learn quick "through their own experiences", as is shown in his letter of January 27, 1887, to Mrs. Wischnewetsky:

> "The movement in America, just at this moment, is I believe best seen from across the ocean. On the spot personal bickerings and local disputes must obscure much of the grandeur of it. And the only thing that could really delay its march would be the consolidation of these differences into established acts. To some extent that will be unavoidable, but the less of it the better. . . . Our theory is a theory of evolution not of dogma to be learned by heart and to be prepared mechanically. The less it is drilled into the Americans from the outside and the more they test it through their own experience . . . the deeper will it pass into their flesh and blood."

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The same trend of thought runs through a letter to Sorge, written on April 29, 1886:

> "For the first time there exists a real mass movement amongst the English-speaking population. It is unavoidable that this at the beginning moves hesitatingly, clumsily, unclearly, and unknowingly. That will all be cleared up; the movement will and must develop through its own mistakes. Theoretical ignorance is the characteristic of all young peoples, but so is practical speed of development.
>
> "Just as all preaching is of no avail in England, until the actual necessity is at hand, so too in America. And this necessity is present in America and is being realized. The entrance of the masses of native workers into the movement in America is for me one of the great events of 1886."

Engels urged his German friends in America to participate actively in a native American working class movement, to become part of this movement, not to stand aloof but to urge them to join it for the purpose of leading it in the right direction. He criticized those who wanted to reduce Marxism to formulas and dogmas instead of applying Marxist theory as a guide to action. In a letter to Mrs. Wischnewetsky dated February 9, 1887, he writes:

> "As soon as there was a national American working class movement independent of the Germans, my standpoint was clearly indicated by the facts of the case. The great national movement, no matter what its first form, is the real starting point of American working class development; if the Germans join it in order to help it or hasten its development, in the right direction, they may do a deal of good and play a decisive part in it; if they stand aloof, they will dwindle into a dogmatic sect, and will be brushed aside as people who do not understand their own principles."

The Communist Party is instrumental in bringing together native, foreign born, and Negro labor and forging its class interest and in practice demonstrating its ability to unite native Americans and foreign born and Negro proletariat in a common struggle against capitalism. It has already demonstrated in the daily struggles of the American proletariat that it is the only unifying force of the American working class.

ON THE NEED FOR AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL WORKERS' PARTY

Engels was very much concerned with the development of an independent political party of the American working class. This is seen clearly in his letter to Sorge, November 29, 1886:

> "The Germans have not understood how to use their theory as a lever which could set the American masses in motion; they do not understand the theory themselves for the most part and treat

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> it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way, as something which has got to be learnt off by heart but which will then supply all needs without more ado. To them it is a credo (creed) and not a guide to action. Hence the American masses had to seek out their own way and seem to have found it for the time being in the K(nights) of L(abor), whose confused principles and ludicrous organization appear to correspond to their own confusion. But according to all I hear the K. of L. are a real power, especially in New England and the West, and are becoming more so every day owing to the brutal opposition of the capitalists. I think it is necessary to work inside them, to form within this still quite plastic mass a core of people who understand the movement and its aims and will therefore themselves take over the leadership, at least of a section, when the inevitable impending break-up of the present 'order' takes place. . . . The first great step of importance for every country newly entering into the movement is always the organization of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party. . . . That the first program of this party is still confused and highly deficient, that it has set up the banner of Henry George, these are inevitable evils but also only transitory ones. The masses must have time and opportunity to develop and they can only have the opportunity when they have their own movement—no matter in what form so long as it is only *their own* movement—in which they are driven further by their own mistakes and learn wisdom by hurting themselves. . . . Except that in America now things will go infinitely more quickly; for the movement to have attained such election successes after scarcely eight months of existence is absolutely unheard of. And what is still lacking will be set going by the bourgeoisie, nowhere in the whole world do they come out so shamelessly and tyrannically as here. . . . Where the bourgeoisie conducts the struggle by methods of this kind, things come rapidly to a decision. . . ."

Since the day this letter was written many changes have taken place in the American labor movement, but the basic objective set by Engels in the above-quoted letter holds good today. The need "for an independent political party" of the American working class is one of the central questions confronting our Party. We are in a much better position today than ever before to build such a Party. We have in the United States already a Communist Party which sets definite objectives and tasks as the Party of the vanguard of the American proletariat. The growing discontent of the masses, the breaking away of the broad masses from the traditional two-party system, the Republican and Democratic Parties, signify that there is a genuine movement in the American trade-union field for a mass anti-capitalist Labor Party. Such a party will be a milestone in the development of the political class consciousness of the American proletariat.

The January meeting of the Central Committee of our Party, declares in its resolution:

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> "The major task of the C.P. is to build and strengthen its own direct influence to increase the number of its members, and in every way to strengthen the authority of the Party among the masses, to struggle for its principles and tactics. For the very reason that life itself raises the question of the Labor Party, we must strengthen our Party as the only real, independent proletarian Party which cannot be replaced by any other organization in the struggle of the working class for its liberation. The Party cannot expect, however, that it will be able to bring directly and immediately under its own banner the millions who are breaking away from the old parties. At the same time, it cannot remain indifferent or passive to the further development of these millions or towards the organized form which their political activity will take."

Engels' formulation: "No matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party", assumes at this stage of development a tremendous importance. Engels' idea of a Labor Party is one of opposition to the bourgeois parties and in opposition to the parties who profess to speak for the people but in reality serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, such as the Progressive Party of Wisconsin and the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, headed by Governor Olson. These parties have the distinct character of class collaboration as against that of a genuine Labor Party based upon a class struggle program. Such a party today is a historic necessity and it must be on guard against becoming a movement for a bourgeois third party of the LaFollette type of 1924, when, as today, after a wave of strike struggles which swept the country, the federal and state governments, made up of the Republican and Democratic Parties, were the direct tools of the capitalist class in crushing strikes and suppressing workers' organizations. The same process is taking place today, demonstrating only the further growth of solidarity of the workers through mass solidarity and general strikes, as we have seen in San Francisco, Toledo, Minneapolis, Terre Haute and numerous other industrial centers of the country. Engels, while bringing to the fore the question of the development of the mass movement and the need of the formation of a mass party of the proletariat, did not for one moment minimize the importance and need of building a conscious vanguard of the proletariat for the purpose of leading and guiding such a broad mass movement. In a letter to Sorge (November 29, 1886) he writes:

> "But it is just now that it is doubly necessary to have a few people there from our side with a firm seat in their saddles where theory and long-proved tactics are concerned . . . for, from good historical reasons, the Americans are worlds behind in all theoretical things, and while they did not bring over any medieval institutions from Europe they did bring over masses of medieval traditions,

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> religion, English common (feudal) law, superstition, spiritualism, in short every kind of imbecility which was not directly harmful to business and which is now very serviceable for making the masses stupid. And if there are people at hand there whose minds are theoretically clear, who can tell them the consequences of their own mistakes beforehand and make it clear to them that every movement which does not keep the destruction of the wage system in view the whole time as its final aim is bound to go astray and fail—then many a piece of nonsense may be avoided and the process considerably shortened."

THE STRUGGLE FOR THEORETICAL CLARITY

The indifference to theory in America in the last period is constantly being broken down, thanks to the persistent line pursued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Through their bitter experience in practical struggle the American workers are learning more and more the value of revolutionary theory; for, as Lenin points out: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice." We are proud that we can record the growing system of schools and the attention to theoretical training, which, although by no means satisfactory, is a most encouraging beginning. This is closely connected with the development and training of cadres who clearly understand the role the Communist Party is to play in the working class movement and therefore are able to give practical guidance and leadership to the daily struggle of the masses.

Therefore, the Communist Party is the "theoretically clear fighter" of which Engels spoke in 1886. Our Party, through daily participation in the struggles of the workers, the impoverished farmers, the Negro people, and the ruined petty bourgeois, has advanced a program of clearly defined aims and tasks to lead the masses in the struggle against capitalism for the overthrow of the rule of capital, for a Soviet America.

The position of our Party is in full consonance with what Engels wrote to Mrs. Wischnewetsky on December 28, 1886:

> "It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat, than that it should start and proceed from the beginning on theoretically perfectly correct lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than '*druch Schaden klug werden*' (to learn by one's own mistakes). And for a whole large class, there is no other road, especially for a nation so eminently practical as the Americans. The great things, to get the working class to move *as a class;* that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist . . . will be left out in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore, I think

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also the K(nights) of L(abor) a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionized from within, and I consider that many of the Germans there have made a grievous mistake, when they tried, in face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of *alleinseligmachendes** dogma and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma. Our theory is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves successive phases. To expect that the Americans will start with the full consciousness of the theory worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. What the Germans ought to do is to act up to their own theory—if they understand it, as we did in 1845 and 1848—to go in for any real general working class movement, accept its *factische*** starting points as much and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical views in the original program; they ought, in the words of *The Communist Manifesto*, to represent the movement of the future in the movement of the present. But above all give the movement time to consolidate, do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start worse confounded by forcing down people's throats things which at present they cannot properly understand, but which they soon will learn. A million or two of workingmen's votes next November for a *bona fide* workingmen's party is worth infinitely more at present than a hundred thousand votes for a doctrinally perfect platform. The very first attempt—soon to be made if the movement progresses—to consolidate the moving masses on a national basis will bring them all fact to face, Georgites, K. of L. Trade Unionists, and all; . . . then will be the time for them to criticize the views of the others and thus, by showing up the inconsistencies of the various standpoints, to bring them gradually to understand their own actual position, the position made for them by the correlation of capital and wage labor. But anything that might delay or prevent that national consolidation of the workingmen's party—no matter what platform—I should consider a great mistake."

The struggle for theoretical clarity, the exposure of all quack theories, the medicine men remedies, which are appearing in America today more than ever due to the deep-going economic crisis of capitalism, together with the loss of faith of the masses in capitalism as a social order, calls for the further and more intensified and sharper struggle on the theoretical front against our class enemies. This includes the struggle against all forms of social reformism as represented by the Socialist Party, by the petty bourgeois economists and fascists demagogues of the type of Coughlin, Huey Long, and others of their kidney.

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* Necessary to salvation.
** Actual.

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ON THE ROLE OF THE C.P. IN THE LABOR PARTY

Engels further in another letter points out that the necessity and importance of gaining "the ear of the working class", that participation in the broad mass movement of the workers does not mean to give up our principles to hide our objective. On the contrary, this objective is to be set forward clearly. He writes in a letter to Mrs. Wischnewetsky, dated January 27, 1887:

> "I think that all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organization, and I am afraid that if the German-Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake."

He points out that a conscious vanguard on the side of the working class is essentially necessary for the success of a given movement of the workers. In one of his letters he writes:

> "Facts must hammer it into people's heads and then things move faster, more rapidly, of course, where there already is an organized and theoretically-trained section of the proletariat. . . ."

From these excerpts it is evident that Engels presented a clear position on the question of the Labor Party: that such a Party be built on the basis of the class struggle with complete independence from the bourgeois political parties; that the Communist Party participate in such a party.

The role of the Communist Party in the Labor Party must be to bring about unification of all anti-capitalist elements, above all the trade unions, the organizations of the unemployed, the impoverished farmers, the Negro people, the veterans, etc. The Communist Party, however, remains an independent political force of the proletariat, the vanguard of the working class in its struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for a Soviet America.

Our main objective in this article is to bring forward the viewpoint of Engels on the American labor movement. By no means did Marx and Engels confine themselves to the problems of the proletariat. They were very much concerned with the question of the farmers and Negro people, as the allies of the working class, in their struggle against capitalism. Marx, in a letter dated July 25, 1887, speaks of the process of revolutionization which will take place among the farmers as a consequence of the agrarian crisis and the expropriation of the middle and poor farmers by big business. Engels, too, in his letter of January 6, 1892, to Sorge points out that the American farmers as a class have not the strength for the formation of an independent political party. He points out that

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any attempt for farmers' parties will be, first, a plaything in the hands of the petty bourgeois political speculators, and, second, an appendage to the two capitalist parties:

> "The small farmers and petty bourgeoisie will scarcely ever be able to form a strong party. They are composed of too rapidly changing elements—the farmer is often a wandering farmer, who cultivates two, three or four farms in different states and territories one after the other; immigration and bankruptcy promote the change of personnel in both; economic dependence upon creditors also hinders independence—but to make up for that they are excellent material for politicians, who speculate with their dissatisfaction in order to sell them later, to one of the big parties."

This characterization of Engels applies with particular force to the present situation in America. How true Engels' words appear in the light of the Chicago Third Party Conference, held in July, at which petty bourgeois politicians attempted to form a third bourgeois party for the purpose of misleading the proletariat and toiling farmers into bourgeois channels and of preventing the establishment of an independent political movement on the part of labor, mass anti-capitalist Labor Party. These maneuvers of capitalism indicate the objective signs of antagonism in the camp of the bourgeoisie and show that the crisis of American capitalism also hits the middle classes. Our task is to expose the swindlers of the third bourgeois party movement and to win over the followers of such a movement on the side of the Labor Party. As Lenin declared in his famous *Letter to the American Workers*:

> "The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us for civil war against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the world and the American labor movement strengthens my conviction."

Marx, in a letter to Engels on July 25, 1887, writes:

> "What do you think of the workers of the United States? This first explosion against the associated oligarchy of capital, which has arisen since the Civil War, will naturally again be suppressed, but can very well form *the point of origin for the constitution of an earnest workers' party*. The policy of the new president will make the Negroes, and the great expropriations of land (exactly the futile land) in favor of railway, mining, etc., companies will make the peasants of the West, who are already very dissatisfied, allies of the workers. So that a nice sauce is being stirred over there, and the transference of the center of the International of the United States may obtain a very remarkable *post festum* opportuneness."

Marx's characterization holds good even today when the process of which he speaks has only been intensified and the proud independent American farmer is becoming a peasant.

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With the prolonged general crisis of capitalism, with the growing disillusionment of the broad masses with the capitalist system as such, the maturing idea of storming capital is present today. Our Party has the task of giving guidance and direct leadership to the growing mass movement. To do this, it must further entrench itself in the basic industries—in the shops, mines, trade unions, and mass movements of the oppressed. Engels foresaw the meaning of the breaking out of the class war in America, when he wrote:

> "What the breakdown of Russian tsarism would be for the great military monarchies of Europe—the snapping of their mainstay—that is for the bourgeois of the whole world the breaking out of class war in America. For America after all was the ideal of all bourgeois; a country *rich, vast, expanding*, with purely *bourgeois* institutions unleavened by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions and with a permanent and hereditary proletariat. Here everyone could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means, for his own account. And because there were not, *as yet*, classes with opposing interests, our—and your—bourgeois thought that America stood *above* class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down, the last Bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatorio, and can only be prevented from becoming, like Europe, an Inferno by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly fledged proletariat of America will take place." (Letter to Mrs. Wischnewetsky, June 3, 1886.)

Comrade Stalin, on May 6, 1929, declared:

> "I think the moment is not far off when the revolutionary crisis will develop in America and when a revolutionary crisis develops in America that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole."

This historic role of the American proletariat as outlined by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin will be fulfilled if we carry out what Comrade Stalin said to us:

> *"We must work in order to forge real revolutionary cadres and real revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, capable of leading the many millions of the American working class towards the revolutionary class struggle."*

Basing ourselves on the experience of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin; learning from the experiences of the revolutionary movement in America; taking over the revolutionary traditions of the American people, our Party will fulfill its historic mission. America will by no means be the last country where the proletariat will be victorious over the bourgeoisie.

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World Politics and Ethiopia

By WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

THE *Crisis*, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the leading American Negro reformist organization, carries in its May issue an article by George Padmore, entitled "Ethiopia and World Politics". Mr. Padmore was at one time a member of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. He was expelled from that Party and is now a renegade from Communism. His article purports to treat this question, which is so vitally important for the world in general and the Negro world in particular, honestly and squarely. It is recommended to us as a scientific, serious, and objective treatment of this very timely subject.

However, we find that the article is characterized by the omission of well-known facts concerning the Italo-Abyssinian situation. For example, we find missing the concrete demonstrations against this criminal adventure of Mussolini by anti-imperialist world forces, which include mutinies of large bodies of Italian troops. There is a complete and conspicuous failure to mention the role of American imperialism in this affair. One of the most significant features is the unscrupulous distortion of equally well-established, almost universally admitted facts, regarding the present alignment of class forces in Europe, their relation to the Abyssinian situation in particular and to the Negro liberation movement in general. This is augmented by such gross misrepresentations of historical facts that they can only be regarded as conscious and purposeful.

It is not alone for these reasons that issue must be taken with Mr. Padmore. His "analysis" of the Abyssinian situation must be subjected to a thorough examination because of the influential position of the periodical which airs his views and gives them an editorial endorsement and because of the timeliness of the subject. In view of the "indivisibility of peace" the attempt to raid Abyssinia is pregnant with the germs of a new world war in which the culturally, economically and politically backward, dependent Negro peoples can only be the pawns of the great imperialist powers. What must be done to prevent that war? How are the Negro people to be organized to fight for freedom? With whom are they to be allied? The article must be subjected to a thorough examination

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because of the tremendous vitality the national independence struggle of Abyssinia has for the world revolutionary movement in general and the Negro emancipation movement in particular.

The analytical attitude is especially necessary in view of the fact that Mr. Padmore presents the developing conflict as a struggle of white against black, in an obviously conscious manner attempting to divorce it of all class content. He groups the world into white and colored races and nations, unalterably and inherently opposed to each other. Into the anti-colored grouping Mr. Padmore seeks to draw the picture of the Soviet Union as a dominant factor.

Since Mr. Padmore has at least an elementary knowledge of political and economic questions, such an infantile analysis on his part cannot be considered accidental. It is interesting to note also that only as a renegade from Communism and as a purveyor of anti-Soviet, anti-working class propaganda in his treatment of "world politics", does Mr. Padmore find entry into the columns of *The Crisis*.

The subject of Mr. Padmore's article has tremendous significance, especially for the Abyssinian people. The question of allies is of great importance for them. At least we would have expected from him, in dealing with Negroes and world politics, a clean-cut answer to the question: Who are the friends of the Negro people? To place the question on the basis of white against black is to deny the existence of friends and reliable allies outside their own ranks and therefore to leave Abyssinia in a seemingly isolated and hopeless position. In fact, Mr. Padmore says Abyssinia is single-handed in its struggle against Italian imperialism.

The Negro people alone, scattered and largely unorganized, are undeniably in no wise a serious force against world imperialism. A weak, dependent people fighting for independence against great odds *must* find allies. Mr. Padmore does not want to evade this question. He seeks to "cure" it by drawing a picture of Japanese imperialism as a friend of Abyssinia. But such a solution can only create serious doubts as to Mr. Padmore's honesty or the extent of his knowledge of world politics. The universally known record of Japanese imperialism denies the correctness of such a conclusion.

To place this question as one of white against black is to create doubts of the honesty of purpose of the white anti-imperialist forces at a very critical moment, thus creating confusion even in the ranks of those who are anti-imperialist among the Negro people, is to hide from the masses the bourgeois Negro elements which are rendering direct support to world imperialism, is to disrupt and retard the development of the anti-imperialist united front around this issue. Thus, Mr. Padmore's position objectively aids Mussolini, the im-

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peralist world and gives objective support to the forces preparing a new imperialist war.

The question of allies is of decisive importance for the entire Negro liberation movement. The attention of the Negro people must be turned towards the concrete solidarity demonstrations and actions of all anti-imperialist forces that are fighting against a common enemy of mankind. The Negro masses have much to learn from these activities, particularly from those led by the Communist and Socialist Parties in Italy. With their slogan of not a man, not a penny for the African adventures of fascism, the Negro people must become an inseparable part of this movement, strengthening, deepening, broadening and initiating new and higher forms of struggle for it.

Could Mr. Padmore overlook these phenomena by accident? Will not such an oversight obscure, rather than clarify, for the Abyssinian people, the danger threatening their country from world imperialism in general and Italian fascism in particular? Does "world politics" not include the class struggle as a dynamic factor? Can Mr. Padmore's presentation by any clear concept of world politics be called "a clear picture in simple straightforward language of the plight of Abyssinia?"

Before dealing more concretely with these and other questions raised by Mr. Padmore's article, some comment could be made of the "slight" inaccuracies in *The Crisis* Editorial Board's introduction and endorsement of it.

This introduction speaks of Mr. Padmore's former position on *The Black Worker*. There is no such publication. Although this is a mistake of no great importance, I call attention to it merely for the purpose of informing those who may want to read *The Negro Worker*, which continues to be published and may be secured by writing to 2162 Seventh Avenue, New York City. *The Negro Worker* has never been a publication of Soviet Russia nor of the Soviet Union, of which the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (Soviet Russia) is a part. Nor has Mr. Padmore ever worked for either the Soviet Union or the R.S.F.S.R., or, for that matter, for the Communist International.

Therefore, the statement that "he was ousted by Soviet Russia as editor of the *Black Worker*, although a very insidious attempt to trump up a case of "Soviet interference in the internal affairs of other countries", is manifestly false.

And will *The Crisis* editors please tell us concretely when and where Mr. Padmore ever honestly "protested against the failure of Communists to rally to the aid of the African workers"? Turn where you will, gentlemen, and you will find Communists, black

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and white, as leaders of the Negro liberation movement. It is only they who have scientifically approached this question. It is only they who have given to it theoretical clarity and on the basis of this clarity worked out a concrete program of action for the Negro people.

Mr. Padmore holds that the Italo-Abyssinian conflict is "but a reflection of world politics, and of new groups and alliances taking place among the European powers for a new world war". This is, of course, an extremely superficial approach to the question. It entirely ignores the basic economic causes which are driving the imperialist powers to seek a re-division of the world. But even this attempt at definition completely contradicts Mr. Padmore's later thesis that "the pact of Rome [the agreement of January 7 whereby France and England seemingly gave Italy a free hand in Abyssinia—W.L.P.] is the most glaring example of united front of white Europe against black Africa".

Let us note in passing the change in attitude, particularly of England, towards this agreement of blood and iron. She undoubtedly underestimated the repercussions of this adventure, especially in the anti-imperialist and in the Negro world. Unrest is ripe in Africa. In recent days we have had a series of articles in the French press commenting thus: "French prestige has been damaged in the eyes of *our* Moslem population. [Emphasis mine—W.L.P.]

> "If we want to stay in Africa we must be prepared to use our superiority" (*Bulletin Quotidien*).
>
> "In Algiers competent and responsible men point out that a certain insurrectionist mentality is developing" (*Daladier Oeuvre*).
>
> "Very serious political and economic uneasiness exists. . . . Do we want to keep North Africa?" (*Republique*).

Mr. Padmore assures us that the imperialist press of France is "not as a rule hostile toward the Negroes". Towards what Negroes is it not consistently hostile? When has there ever been a lack of hostility on the part of the oppressor towards the oppressed? Mr. Padmore, the gentleman of leisure in Paris, has conveniently forgotten the atrocities in the French Congo and in the other French black colonies. That press which does not demand complete freedom and full equality for the Negro people anywhere and at all times is hostile, Mr. Padmore.

To understand why Italian fascism moves towards war at this particular moment, "it is necessary", says Mr. Padmore, "to get a complete picture of the present-day European political situation", which even Mr. Padmore, as decidedly political bankrupt as he shows himself to be, recognizes in other sections of his article as

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extending far beyond any struggle of white races against colored races, of any united front of white Europe against black Africa.

Mr. Padmore then proceeds to give us this "complete picture", beginning "*briefly* [emphasis mine—W.L.P.], present-day Europe can be described as fascist, for England, France and the small Scandinavian countries are the only nations in Europe still adhering to democratic institutions".

"The principal features of fascism are aggressive nationalism, and the desire for territorial expansion," Mr. Padmore continues. "Italy's territorial designs are in two directions, Central Europe and Africa"; and the conclusion he draws therefrom is that "It is clear that all the big powers on the League of Nations Council—Great Britain, France and Soviet Russia—would rather prefer Mussolini to make war in Africa than disturb the *status quo* in Europe." Even for Mr. Padmore this "complete picture" is extremely incomplete. From this "complete picture" of the present-day European situation Mr. Padmore moves to "examine the relationship of forces in Europe at the moment".

Here Padmore, the renegade, gets himself badly mixed up, gives himself away entirely, exposing the rapid progress he has made as a lackey of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and incidentally, the real purpose of his article. For, alongside of the above-stated slander against the Soviet Union, he says, "While the imperialists look upon the world as divided into two camps—Versailles and anti-Versailles, the Soviet leaders look upon the world as divided into *two different kinds* of camps" [my emphasis—W.L.P.]—the imperialist camp, and the anti-imperialist, represented by the Soviet Union".

Mr. Padmore, of course, leaves no doubt as to where he stands. He cynically takes his stand with all who are ranged for attack upon the Soviet Union.

> "The present Soviet leaders," he goes on, "have changed their foreign policy, as they no longer have any faith in the ability of the workers of Europe and America to defend Russia if attacked. . . . The Kremlin has made an alliance with France . . . and since they are also afraid of losing what they have, they all find it possible to collaborate in defending *the status quo*, or to use diplomatic language, 'peace', for the *status quo* can only be changed by war. *Russia can therefore be considered a member of the Versailles camp.*" (Emphasis mine—W.L.P.)

To clinch the question, Mr. Padmore assures us that "the early leaders [of the Soviet Union] Lenin and Trotsky, refused to enter into any alliances or diplomatic entanglement with capitalist states". We can only conclude from this that the present line of the Soviet

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leaders is a complete departure from Leninism. Indeed, world imperialism owes much to the Padmores for this inside information.

Any scientific examination of "the relation of forces in Europe at the present time" must be based upon a clear understanding of the historical moment. A tremendous change has taken place in the relation of forces between the Socialist and imperialist worlds, due to the growing economic strength of the Soviet Union and its consequent tremendously increasing political strength.

The days of apparent peace and security of capitalism have ended. We have entered a period of gigantic class struggles, of new wars and revolutions; the forces of revolution face the forces of counter-revolution. The world of the Soviets with its supporters—all the class-conscious workers and toilers—is arrayed against the world of anti-Soviets, the imperialist world. This latter group includes both the pro and anti-Versailles camps. As for the relation of the Soviet Union to the Versailles Treaty, Comrade Litvinov openly stated at the Extraordinary Session of the Council of the League of Nations that the U.S.S.R. "not only is not responsible for the Versailles Treaty, but has never concealed *its negative attitude to this treaty*". (*International Press Correspondence*, April 27, 1935) [Emphasis mine—W.L.P.].

For degeneracy, Mr. Padmore could not have sunk deeper. Neither the stupid or astute agents of imperialism, nor the imperialist blood hounds of Hitler himself, nor the "liberal" Mr. Roosevelt, nor the conservative Mr. Baldwin, would permit themselves to bring forward such a preposterous line of argument.

One may hate and vilify the Soviet Union but one cannot place it in the same camp where fascism rules or where fascist tendencies and ruthless capitalist dictatorship leave industrial ruination, political bankruptcy, cultural backwardness and feverish war preparation on every side. The Soviet Union has, with unparalleled heroism, beaten back the combined forces of both the imperialist Versailles victors and vanquished; it has established a fatherland for the world's oppressed; it has granted the right of self-determination to scores of former oppressed national minorities and dependent nations, now a part of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics on a basis of complete equality; it has forcibly suppressed the former exploiters of the land as a class, and is gloriously building Socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is going forward from one victory to another on the industrial field, in the political world, and on the cultural front.

One cannot place tht Land of the Soviets in the camp with those who have only unemployment and starvation, martial law and pogroms, for their workers and toiling masses, the camp which has

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only ignorance, poverty and slavery for millions of colonial, semi-colonial peoples and those of dependent nations. One cannot place the Soviet Union in the camp of the warmakers. The history of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union at Geneva, the definition of the aggressor formulated by the Soviet Union, the present Franco-Soviet pact of mutual assistance, the proposed Eastern Pact, the Soviet-Czech agreement, and other proposals of regional pacts, are proof of the peaceful aims and purposes of the Soviet Union.

No more can one take any of the imperialist powers out of the war camp. Not since "the war to end wars", has the world seen a day of peace. Mr. Padmore will have difficulty in convincing world imperialism that the Soviet Union sits in the Versailles camp. Nor are the pacts mentioned above, either those profferred or those accepted, attempts at the diplomatic isolation of the Third Reich, as Mr. Padmore would have us believe. Time after time, the Third Reich has been invited to participate in organizing peace.

Present day Europe can be described as fascist, says Mr. Padmore, exempting England, France, and the Scandinavian countries which, he informs us, are ". . . the only nations in Europe adhering to democratic institutions". Our learned commentator should have studied his geography a little better. The Soviet Union, Mr. Padmore, is the largest country in Europe. Surely neither Mr. Padmore nor the editors of *The Crisis* would dare to declare it to be a fascist country. Neither in form nor in content does the Soviet politico-economic structure fit even Mr. Padmore's definition of fascism. No other country in the world has relatively or absolutely so large an electorate. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the democracy of the entire toiling population. It is no less true that the democracy of the bourgeoisie is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie—whether it takes the form of a republic, a monarchy, or any of the fascist forms of dictatorship. The Soviet government is infinitely more democratic than any other in the world. Only one who deliberately serves the ruling class or who is politically blind, can fail to see this. Certainly, no serious student of world politics could miss this fact. The national minorities and dependent peoples of the tsarist empire, whose position was comparable to that of the Negro people today, now have the ballot and their own government due to the Soviet policy on the national question which granted them the right of self-determination.

Lenin, from whom Mr. Padmore at another moment seeks to support his slanders on the present leaders, says:

> "Is there a single country in the world, even among the most democratic bourgeois countries, in which the average rank-and-file

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> worker, the average rank-and-file *village laborer*, or village semi-proletarian generally (*i.e.*, the representatives of the oppressed masses, the overwhelming majority of the population), enjoys anything approaching such *liberty* to hold meetings in the best buildings, such *liberty* to use the best printing works and largest stocks of paper, to express his ideas and to protect his interests, such liberty to promote men and women of his own class, to administer and to 'run' the State as in Soviet Russia?" (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, p. 31.)

Since this was written (November, 1918), the democracy of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been considerably broadened. The recent reforms of the Soviet Constitution eloquently attest to this.

We must now deal the learned Mr. Padmore some body blows. We cannot finish this fine fellow for all time, but we can expose his hypocrisy, his degeneracy, and his renegacy from the Negro liberation struggles. Let us invoke Lenin's aid to correct him, since, ranting against the Franco-Soviet Past, he assures us that Lenin "refused to enter into any alliance or diplomatic entanglements with capitalist states".

In 1918 the same Lenin, the greatest of internationalists, gave a report to the American workers on the course of the Russian Revolution. He spoke of the tasks of the oppressed white and Negro masses of the United States, now wage slaves of a handful of billionaires, in developing international working class solidarity and in defending the Soviet Union which had become the fatherland of the oppressed workers the world over. Touching on the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and the role of the British, French, and American bourgeois press, which was heaping calumnies upon Russia, for seeking "a just peace, a peace without annexations and indemnities, a peace fully guaranteeing rights to all nations", just as the most reactionary, most imperialistic minded press is doing today while the Soviet Union seeks to "organize peace", Lenin said:

> "The beasts of prey of Anglo-French and American imperialism 'accuse' us of coming to an 'agreement' with German imperialism.
>
> "O hypocrites! O scoundrels, who slander the workers' government and shiver from fear of that sympathy which is being shown us by the workers of 'their own' countries! But their hypocrisy will be exposed. They pretend (Mr. Padmore and gentlemen of the N. A. A. C. P. leadership take notice—W. L. P.) not to understand the difference between an agreement made by 'Socialists' with the bourgeoisie (native or foreign) *against the workers*, against the toilers, and an agreement for the safety of the workers who have defeated their bourgeoisie, with a bourgeoisie of one national color *against* the bourgeoisie of another color, for the sake of the utilization by the proletariat of the contradictions between the different groups of the bourgeoisie. . . .
>
> "When the German imperialist robbers in February, 1918,

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> threw armies against defenseless, demobilized Russia, which staked its hopes upon the international solidarity of the proletariat before the international revolution had completely ripened, *I did not hesitate for a moment to come to a certain 'agreement' with the French monarchists* (Emphasis—W.L.P.). . . . To throw back the rapacious advancing Germans *we* made use of the equally rapacious counter-interests of the other imperialists, thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the International Socialist revolution."

"This," said Lenin: "weakens the bourgeoisie of the whole world". He added:

> "*I would not hesitate a single second* to come to the *same kind* of an 'agreement' with the German imperialist robbers, should an attack upon Russia by Anglo-French troops demand it." (*A Letter to the American Workers.*)

Your rotten lie, Mr. Padmore, comes home to condemn you. Lenin was not against "agreements" with capitalist states when such agreements profit the toiling masses. What a powerful lesson there is here for the Negro peoples on the question of maneuvering! How well had little Haiti earlier applied the same policies!

The Franco-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance weakens world imperialism. It quickens the tempo of world revolution and hastens the downfall of capitalism. It serves the interests of Socialism, and of the toiling masses of every capitalist country, of every colonial and semi-colonial land, and therefore the interests of the oppressed Negroe people everywhere. It was precisely for the purpose of saving humanity from the devastation and horror of a new world war that the Soviets entered the League of Nations.

Could any cause be greater? And peace in such a sense does not mean "defending the *status quo*". Nor is it true ". . . that the *status quo* can only be changed by war". That is, by the kind of war you refer to. For you are using the term war in the sense of an imperialist war. Otherwise, you could not have said

> ". . . it is clear that all the big powers on the League of Nations Council—Great Britain, France, and Soviet Russia—would prefer Mussolini to make war in Africa than disturb the *status quo* in Europe."

You have forgotten about so small a thing as revolution—civil war—Mr. Padmore. Yet, "friend" of the Negro people, you should have told the Negro masses as did the heroic black Haitian revolutionists when they were making history, by leading a people from slavery to the establishment of a government of their own: "If you would have liberty, it must be bought with gun in hand." You have forgotten so small a thing as wars for national independence; but a

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real leader, Mr. Padmore, does not forget the most essential factors in the salvation of his people.

The Soviet Union stands unqualifiedly against imperialist war. Certainly, none has more to lose through imperialist war than the Negro people. The Soviet Union stands unqualifiedly against the *status quo*. Certainly, for no one is the *status quo* so damnably enslaving as for the Negro people. Certainly, none has more to gain than the Negro people in the changing of the *status quo*, as the Soviet Union would change it.

The Soviet Union would "prefer Mussolini to make war in Africa than disturb the *status quo* in Europe", says Padmore. I say the Soviet Union would prefer that Mussolini does not make war. The Soviet Union's peace policy is based upon that profound truth expressed by its brilliant representative at Geneva, the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Litvinov. *"Peace is indivisible."*

War in Africa is pregnant with the germs of a new world war. Mussolini will not be "upholding the prestige of the white race in Africa", nor is the Pact of Rome "the most glaring example of united front of white Europe against black Africa." (France and Great Britain hoped to ease the European situation at the expense of Africa; they were willing that Hitler should have the Saar region for the self same reason.)

To place the question on the basis of white against black, is to divest it of its class contents and to hide completely its economic roots. To place the question so as to deceive and betray the Negro people. How profound an analysis Mr. Padmore has made of "Abyssinian and world politics"! How cleverly he has refrained from offering either clarity or concrete proposals to the distressed Abyssinian people and those who seek to aid them. By offering concrete proposals he could only expose himself further.

The African adventure of Mussolini is a desperate attempt on the part of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and the most imperialist elements of the ruling class of Italy to divert the attention of the Italian masses at "home" from their misery. Imperialist Italy aims at a protectorate over Ethiopia and is preparing to achieve this object by a genuine war of conquest. It needs the cotton area now covetously sought by Japan. Italy recognizes that the Japanese robbers and murderers of colonial peoples have their hands more or less full in Manchuria today, due primarily to the activity of heroic partisan forces and the Chinese national-revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement; and while Japan is feverishly preparing to attack the Soviet Union, the Italian bourgeoisie are seeking to take advantage of this situation.

Mr. Padmore is infatuated with the fact that ". . . the Ethiop-

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ians were Christians" when many of the European white nations ". . . were running wild in the forests of north countries". What a prize bit of nonsense! What do the bourgeoisie of any country, what does the profit system care about who are, or were, or will be, Christians? This fact will not rally allies to the defense of the independence of Ethiopia. The imperialist world must have new markets, new sources of raw materials, new fields of exploitation, if it would live, and it cannot get them without war. Imperialist Japan, Mr. Padmore's "friend of the colored people", is proving its friendship in a sea of blood of Koreans, Formosans, Chinese, and Manchurians—all colored people. Japanese-Ethiopian friendship is the friendship of the lion for the lamb. Ethiopia, culturally and economically in the Middle Ages, is politically impotent. Only the strength of the united front of world anti-imperialist forces can save it.

Mr. Padmore, who would show us his great understanding of world politics, has shown us only that he has the political understanding of a faithful tool of the bourgeoisie. Yes, there is "danger of war in Africa", Mr. Padmore, and it is the duty of every honest "black man and woman to render the maximum moral and material support to Abyssinia". But Abyssinia is not "single handed" in its struggle against Italian imperialism. That is a vicious slander of the heroic Italian soldiers who have mutinied against bloody Italian fascism. That is a calumny against the Leagues Against War and Fascism which are supporting and rallying world wide support of all anti-imperialist forces on a world scale behind the Abyssinian people. That is a basic denial of the solidarity of the Negro liberation movements everywhere with the national liberation cause of the Ethiopian people.

The road to the aid of Abyssinia is the road of struggle against imperialist oppression at "home".

To sum up, Mr. Padmore has distorted the question of "Abyssinia and world politics" in the most incredible manner. He has omitted the most salient features. He has lied against and maligned the greatest anti-imperialist forces in the world today. He has concealed or denied the friedship of these forces for the Ethiopian people. He has dismally failed even to suggest one concrete proposal that will give aid to the Negro people in general and the Abyssinian people in particular. He has proven himself and his endorsers, the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P., as the ideological leaders of the Negro bourgeoisie and national reformists, and the tools of world imperialism. He has shown that one who slides down from the path of militant revolutionary struggle for national independence,

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for freedom and equality, onto the path of national reformism, slides down into a swamp leading to the path of counter-revolution. A leader of Negro reformism can only be, by force of circumstances, a lackey of world imperialism.

The Negro reformists, forced into action by mass indignation, are everywhere attempting to prevent the masses from giving concrete aid to the Abyssinian people. They are seeking to prevent the Negro masses from entering into struggles against the "home" bourgeoisie. Yet, this is the only road by which the Negro people can support Abyssinia's liberation cause. The Negro people must be an inseparable part of every strike struggle for wage increases. They must be an inseparable part of every hunger march. They must struggle side by side with the white masses, for relief and unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and the State. In America they must link up these struggles with the struggle for the right of self-determination, the struggle for the confiscation of the land of the white landlords and its division among the poor white and Negro landless people. They must struggle for the State unity of the Black Belt. In South Africa they must struggle with the landless poor whites for relief. They must engage in strike struggles and desperately fight for a united front of Negro and white—on the economic as well as on the political field. Here they must link up the struggles for immediate demands with the struggle for an "Independent South African Native Republic".

The Negro peoples the world over must fight to have the "independent" Negro States, Abyssinia, Liberia, and Haiti, recognize the Soviet Union. The imperialist powers which have made the colonies and semi-colonies or are attempting to create protectorates, have been forced to recognize the Soviet Union. The masses of these Negro countries have everything to learn from the struggles of the Russian masses. They must learn to recognize the role of betrayal of the Negro bourgeoisie, of the Negro national reformists, and the Padmores who are seeking to hold them enslaved to imperialism.

It is not accidental that the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. now utilizes Padmore, the renegade. Its course from a real struggle against the policy of Booker T. Washington has been one of constant degeneracy, until today, its leadership stands in the front ranks of betrayers. The road to the salvation of Abyssinia and the liberation of the Negro people is the road to struggle against world imperialism.

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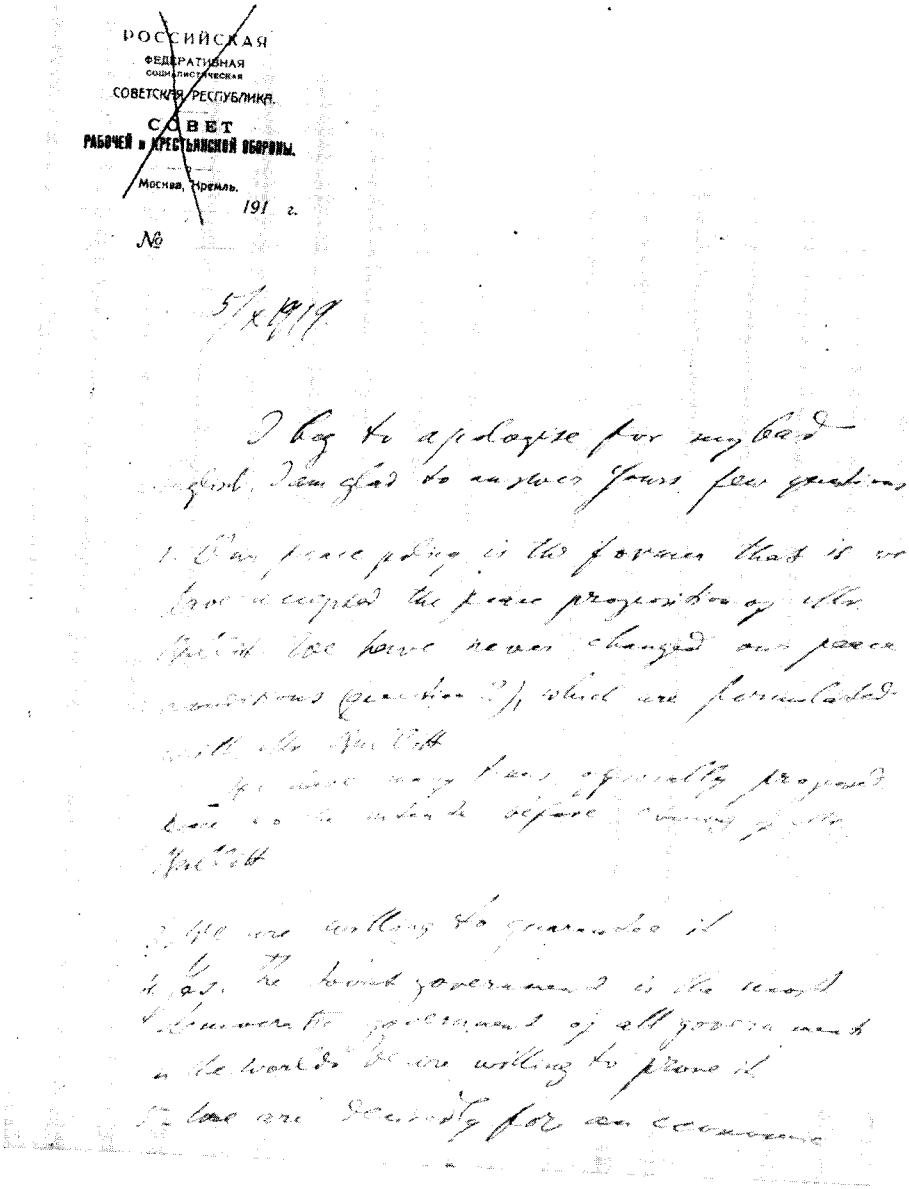
РОССИЙСКАЯ
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СОВЕТ
РАБОЧЕЙ и КРЕСТЬЯНСКОЙ ОБОРОНЫ.
Москва, Кремль.
191 г.
№

5/X 1919

I beg to apologize for my bad
English. I am glad to answer your few questions.
1. Our peace policy is the former that is we
have accepted the peace proposition of the
Entente we have never changed our peace
conditions. Point which are formulated
with the Entente
for we may have especially proposed
but to be united before coming to the
Entente
2. We are willing to guarantee it
by the bind government is the most
dominate government of all governments
in the world. We are willing to place it
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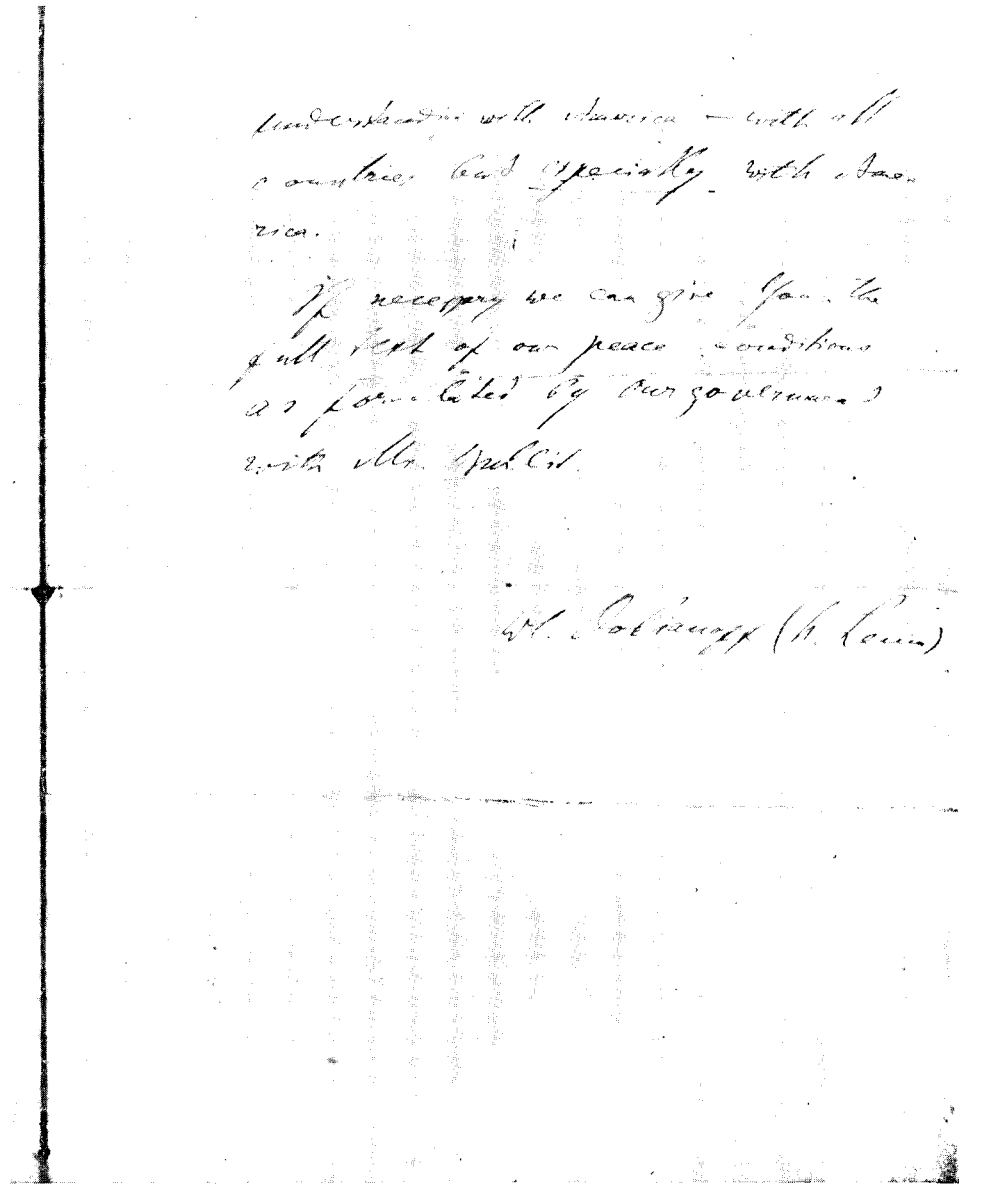

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A Valuable Lenin Document

IN the facsimile document which we are here publishing—a letter written (in English) to the *Chicago Daily News*, under date of October 5, 1919—Lenin replies to a series of questions put to him with regard to the peace policy of the Soviet Union. The document is of high significance in that it outlines the Soviet peace policy as it has been continued and further developed in the epoch of Socialist construction under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.

We are listing below the questions as they were posed with the respective answers by Lenin. (Ed.)

QUESTIONS AND REPLIES

The questions asked and Lenin's replies follow:

Q.—"What is the present peace policy of the Soviet government?"

A.—"Our peace policy is the former; that is, we have accepted the peace proposition of Mr. Bullitt."

Q.—"What, in general terms, are Soviet Russia's peace conditions?"

A.—"We have never changed our peace conditions which we formulated with Mr. Bullitt. We had many times officially proposed peace to the Entente before the coming of Mr. Bullitt."

Q.—Is the Soviet government willing to guarantee absolute non-interference in the internal affairs of foreign countries?"

A.—"We are willing to guarantee it."

Q.—"Would the Soviet government be willing to prove that it represents a majority of the Russian people?"

A.—"Yes. The Soviet government is the most democratic government of all the governments in the world. We are willing to prove it."

Q.—"What is the Soviet government's attitude toward an economic understanding with America?"

A.—"We are decidedly for an economic understanding with America—with all countries, but *especially* with America."

"If necessary, we can give you the full text of our peace conditions as formulated by our government with Mr. Bullitt."

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Friedrich Engels

By V. I. LENIN

Oh, what a lamp of reason ceased to burn,
*What a heart had ceased to throb!**

IN London, on August 5, 1895, Friedrich Engels breathed his last. After his friend Karl Marx (who died in 1883), Engels was the most remarkable scientist and teacher of the modern proletariat in the whole civilized world. Ever since fate brought Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels together, the life work of both friends became their common cause. To understand, therefore, what Friedrich Engels has done for the proletariat, one must clearly master the significance of the work and teaching of Marx in the development of the contemporary labor movement. Marx and Engels were the first to show that the working class with its demands was the necessary outcome of the modern economic order, which together with the bourgeoisie inevitably creates and organizes the proletariat. They have shown that it is not the well-meaning attempts of some noble-minded individuals that will deliver humanity from the ills which now oppress it, but the class struggle of the organized proletariat. Marx and Engels, in their scientific works, were the first to explain that socialism is not the fancy of dreamers but the final aim and the inevitable result of the development of the productive forces of modern society. All recorded history up till now was the history of class struggle, the change of domination and the victory of one social class over another. And this will continue until the bases of the class struggle and class rule—private property and anarchic social production—have ceased to exist. The interests of the proletariat demand the overthrow of these bases, and therefore the conscious class struggle of the organized workers must be directed against them. And every class struggle is a political struggle.

These views of Marx and Engels have now been made their own by the whole proletariat fighting for its emancipation, but when the two friends in the 'forties took part in the socialist literature and social movements of their time, such opinions were something quite new. At that time there were many people—talented and mediocre, honest and dishonest—who, carried away by the struggle for pol-

* From a well-known verse by Nekrassov written on the death of the famous revolutionary publicist of the 'fifties and 'sixties, Dobrolubov.

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itical freedom and the struggle against the autocracy of kings, police and priests, did not see the antagonism of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These people did not even admit the idea of the workers coming forward as an independent social force. There were, on the other hand, many dreamers, some of them men of genius, who thought that it was but necessary to convince the rulers and governing classes of the injustice of the modern social order, and it would then be easy to establish peace on earth and general well being. They dreamt of a socialism without struggle. Finally, almost all the Socialists of that day and the friends of the working class generally considered the proletariat only an *ulcer* and observed with horror how, with the growth of industry, this ulcer was growing too. All of them, therefore, contemplated how to stop the development of industry together with the proletariat, how to stop the "wheel of history". Contrary to the general fear of the growth of the proletariat, Marx and Engels placed all their hopes on its continuous growth. The greater the number of proletarians, the greater will be their power as a revolutionary class, and the nearer and more possible the coming of socialism. In a few words, the services rendered by Marx and Engels to the working class may be expressed thus: they taught the working class to know itself and become class conscious and they substituted science for dreaming.

This is why the name and life of Engels should be known to every worker. This is why we must give in this volume (the aim of which is, as in all our publications, to awaken class consciousness in the Russian workers) an outline of the life and activity of Friedrich Engels, one of the two great teachers of the modern proletariat.

Engels was born in 1820 in Barmen, in the Rhine province of the Prussian kingdom. His father was a manufacturer. In 1838, Engels was forced by family circumstances to enter one of the Bremen commercial houses as a salesman, before completing his course at the *gymnasium*. His commercial occupation did not prevent Engels from working on his scientific and political education. While still at the *gymnasium* he came to hate autocracy and the arbitrariness of officials. His studies of philosophy led him further. The teaching of Hegel dominated German philosophy at that time, and Engels became his disciple. Although Hegel himself was an admirer of the autocratic Prussian state, in whose service he was occupying the post of professor in the Berlin University, the *teaching* of Hegel was revolutionary. The faith of Hegel in human reason and its rights, and the fundamental proposition of the Hegelian philosophy that a constant process of change and development is going on in the universe, had led those of the students of the Berlin philosopher, who did not desire to reconcile themselves with the actual state of

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things, to the idea that the struggle with the actual state of things, the struggle with the existing wrong and ruling evil, is equally rooted in the universal law of eternal development. If all things develop, if one set of institutions is replaced by others, then why should the autocracy of the Prussian king or the Russian tsar—or the enrichment of an insignificant minority, or the domination of the bourgeoisie over the people—continue forever?

The philosophy of Hegel spoke of the development of the mind and ideas: it was *idealistic*. From the development of the mind it deduced the development of nature, man, human and social relations. Marx and Engels while maintaining Hegel's idea of the eternal process of development,* rejected the preconceived idealistic outlook. Turning to life, they saw that it is not the development of mind that explains the development of nature, but on the contrary, mind must be explained from nature, from matter. . . . Contrary to Hegel and other Hegelians, Marx and Engels were materialists. Casting a materialistic glance at the universe and humanity, they perceived that just as material causes lay at the basis of all phenomena of nature, so also the development of human society was conditioned by the development of material productive forces. The relations in which men stand to each other in the production of things necessary for the satisfaction of their human needs depend upon the development of the productive forces. And it is in these relations that the explanation is to be found of all the phenomena of social life, human aspirations, ideas and laws.

The development of productive forces creates social relations based upon private property, but now we see that the same development of the productive forces deprives the majority of their property and concentrates it in the hands of an insignificant minority. It destroys property, the basis of the modern social order; this development itself tends towards the very aim which the Socialists put before themselves. The Socialists need but understand which of the social forces is, by its position in modern society, interested in the realizations of socialism and imbue this force with a consciousness of its interests and historical tasks. The proletariat is that force. Engels made his acquaintance with the proletariat in England, in the center of British industry, in Manchester, whither he moved in 1842, entering into the service of a commercial house of which his father was a shareholder. Here, Engels did not merely sit in the factory office but walked about the slums in which the workers

* Marx and Engels pointed out, many a time, that they, in their intellectual development, are very much indebted to the great German philosophers, particularly Hegel. "Without German philosophy," says Engels, "there would have been no scientific socialism."

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were cooped up and saw their poverty and misery with his own eyes. But he did not confine himself to personal observations. He read all that had been discovered before him concerning the position of the British working class and made a careful study of all the official documents that were accessible to him. The fruit of his studies and observations was the book which appeared in 1845: *The Condition of the Working Class in England.*

We have already mentioned above the chief service of Engels as the author of *The Condition of the Working Class in England.* There were many, even before Engels, who described the sufferings of the proletariat and showed the necessity of helping it. Engels was the *first* to say that the proletariat was *not merely* a suffering class, but that it was the shameful economic position in which the proletariat finds itself which inexorably drives it forward and forces it to fight for its final emancipation. And the fighting proletariat *will help itself by its own efforts.* The political movement of the working class will inevitably lead the workers to the consciousness that there is no way out for them except socialism. On the other hand, socialism will be a power only when it becomes the aim of the *political* struggle of the working class. Such are the main ideas of Engels' book *The Conditions of the Working Class in England,* ideas now owned by the entire thinking and fighting proletariat, but which at that time were quite new. These ideas were enunciated in a book, attractively written and full of the most authentic and terrible pictures of the distress of the British proletariat. That book was a terrible indictment of capitalism and the bourgeoisie. The impression created by it was very great. Engels' book began to be referred to everywhere as the best picture of the conditions of the modern proletariat. And, in fact, neither before nor since 1845 did there appear so striking and truthful a picture of the distress of the working class.

It was only in England that Engels became a Socialist. In Manchester he entered into relations with the workers of the British labor movement and began to write for the English socialist publications. In 1844, on returning to Germany via Paris, he became acquainted in that city with Marx, with whom he had already previously entered into correspondence. In Paris, under the influence of the French Socialists and French life, Marx also became a Socialist. Here the friends jointly wrote a book entitled *The Holy Family, or a Criticism of Critical Criticism.* In this book, which appeared a year before *The Condition of the Working Class in England* and of which the greater part was written by Marx, are laid the foundations of that revolutionary materialistic socialism, the chief ideas of which we expounded above. *The Holy Family* is a humorous

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nickname for the Bauer brothers, philosophers, and their disciples. These gentlemen preached criticism, which stands above any reality, above parties and politics, rejected all practical activity, and only "critically" contemplates the surrounding world and the events which take place in it. The Messrs. Bauer judged the proletarait disdainfully as an uncritical mass. Marx and Engels decidedly attacked this absurd and harmful tendency. In the name of the worker—a real human personality, downtrodden by the ruling classes and the government—they called not for contemplation but for a struggle for a better order of society. They considered, of course, the proletariat as the power that is capable of waging such a struggle and that is interested in it. Even before the appearance of *The Holy Family*, Engels published in the *German-French Annuals* of Marx and Ruge, the *Critical Essay of Political Economy* in which he considered, from the point of view of socialism, the main phenomena of the modern economic order as the necessary consequence of the rule of private property. The intercourse with Engels undoubtedly contributed to the decision of Marx to make a study of political economy, the science in which his works produced a whole revolution.

Engels lived in Brussels and Paris from 1845 to 1847, combining scientific pursuits with practical work among the German workers in Brussels and Paris. Here Marx and Engels came into contact with the secret German "Communist League", which commissioned them to expound the main principles of socialism elaborated by them. This is how the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* of Marx and Engels, printed in 1848, originated. This little booklet is worth a whole number of volumes; its spirit gives life to the movement of the entire organized and fighting proletariat of the civilized world.

The Revolution of 1848, which first of all broke out in France and then spread to other countries in Western Europe, brought Marx and Engels back to their native land. Here, in Rheinish Prussia, they found themselves at the head of the democratic *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which was published in Cologne. The two friends were the soul of all the revolutionary democratic aspirations in Rhenish Prussia. They defended to the utmost the interests of the people and of freedom, against the reactionary forces. The latter, as it known, gained the upper hand. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed. Marx, who during his emigrant life lost his rights as a Prussian subject, was banished, while Engels took part in the people's armed uprising, fought for liberty in three battles, and after the defeat of the rebels escaped to London via Switzerland.

Marx also settled down in that city. Engels soon after became once more a clerk and afterwards a shareholder of the commercial

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house in Manchester in which he had worked in the 'forties. Up to 1870 he lived in Manchester while Marx lived in London, which did not, however, prevent them from maintaining a most lively intellectual intercourse; they corresponded almost daily. The two friends exchanged their views and knowledge in this correspondence and continued, in collaboration, to elaborate scientific socialism. In 1870, Engels moved to London and their common spiritual life, full of strenuous labor, was continued till 1883, the year when Marx died. Its fruit was, on the part of Marx, *Capital*, the greatest work on political economy of our age, and on the part of Engels—a whole number of large and small works. Marx worked on an analysis of the complicated phenomena of capitalist economy. Engels, in works written in a very easy and frequently polemic style, elucidated the more general scientific questions and various events of the past and present, in the spirit of the materialist conception of history and the economic theories of Marx. Of these works of Engels, we will mention: a polemical work against Duehring (here are analyzed the most important questions in the domain of philosophy, natural science and social science,* *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (translated into Russian, published in St. Petersburg, 1895), *Ludwig Feuerbach* (Russian translation with notes by Plekhanov, Geneva 1892), an article on the foreign policy of the Russian government (translated into Russian in the Geneva *Social-Democrat*, Nos. 1 and 2), some remarkable articles on the housing question, and finally, two small but very valuable articles on the economic development of Russia (*Friedrich Engels on Russia*, translated into Russian by Vera Zasulich, Geneva, 1894).

Marx died before completing his great work, *Capital*. However, there was a rough draft, and Engels, after the death of his friend, undertook the heavy labor of working up and publishing the second and third volume of *Capital*. In 1885 he published Volume II and in 1894 Volume III. (He did not succeed in working up Volume IV.) A great deal of work was required on these two volumes. The Austrian Social-Democrat Adler rightly remarked that by the publication of Volume II and III of *Capital* Engels erected in memory of the genius that had been his friend, a majestic monument on which he without intending it indelibly carved his own name. These two volumes of *Capital* are, indeed, the work of both Marx and Engels. Ancient legends tell of various touching examples of friendship. The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relations surpass all the most

* This is a wonderfully rich and instructive book. Unfortunately only a small portion of it is tranlated into Russian, containing an historical outline of the development of socialism—*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.*

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touching tales of the ancients concerning human friendship. Engels always—and, on the whole, justly so—placed himself behind Marx. "With Marx" he wrote to an old friend, "I always played second fiddle". His love for Marx when the latter was alive, and his reverence for Marx's memory after the latter's death, were infinite. This stern fighter and strict thinker possessed a deeply loving soul.

After the movement of 1848-49, Marx and Engels, in exile, were not occupied with science alone. Marx in 1864 formed the International Workingmen's Association and led it during the course of a whole decade. Engels too took an active part in its affairs. The work of the International Association, which, according to the idea of Marx, united the proletarians of all countries, was of tremendous significance for the development of the labor movement. The unifying role of Marx and Engels continued even after the International Association came to an end in the 'seventies. Moreover, it may be said that their importance as spiritual leaders of the labor movement was constantly increasing in so far as the movement itself was growing incessantly. After the death of Marx, Engels alone continued to remain the counsellor and leader of the European socialists. His advice and directions were sought both by the German socialists (who, despite government persecution, rapidly and uninterruptedly increased in numbers) and the representatives of backward countries, such as Spaniards, Rumanians, and Russians, who had to think out and weigh their first steps. All of them drew upon the rich treasure of knowledge and experience of old Engels.

Marx and Engels, both of whom knew the Russian language and read Russian books, took a lively interest in Russia, followed with sympathy the Russian revolutionary movement and maintained connections with Russian revolutionaries. Both of them were *democrats* before they became socialists, and the democratic feeling of *hatred* towards political despotism was strongly developed in them. This direct political feeling together with a profound theoretical understanding of the connection between political despotism and economic oppression, as well as their rich experience of life, made Marx and Engels uncommonly responsive, particularly in regard to *politics*. Therefore, the heroic struggle of a small handful of Russian revolutionaries with the mighty tsarist government found the most sympathetic echo in the hearts of these tried revolutionaries. The inclination on the contrary, of turning, for the sake of supposed economic advantages, from the immediate and important task of Russian socialists—the winning of political freedom—naturally appeared in their eyes as suspicious and was even considered by them a betrayal of the great cause of the social revolution. "The eman-

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cipation of the proletariat must be the work of the proletariat itself" —this is what Marx and Engels constantly taught. But in order that it may fight for its economic emancipation, the proletariat must win for itself certain *political* rights. Besides this, Marx and Engels clearly saw that a political revolution in Russia would be of tremendous importance also for the labor movement in Western Europe. Autocratic Russia was always a bulwark of the entire European reaction. The uncommonly favorable international position in which Russia was placed by the war of 1870, which for a long time put Germany and France at loggerheads, only increased, of course, the importance of autocratic Russia as a reactionary force. Only a free Russia that requires the oppression of neither the Poles, Finns, Germans, Armenians nor that of other small peoples, and does not need the constant incitement of France against Germany—only a free Russia will enable modern Europe to breathe a sigh of relief from the military burdens, will weaken all the reactionary elements in Europe and increase the power of the European working class. This is why Engels, for the sake also of the success of the labor movement in the West, ardently desired the establishment of political freedom in Russia. By his death, the Russian revolutionaries have lost their best friend.

Eternal memory to Friedrich Engels, the great champion and teacher of the proletariat!

Written in autumn, 1895.

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Engels as One of the Founders of Communism

By V. I. LENIN

THE long promised publication of the correspondence between the famous founders of scientific socialism has, at last, seen the light of day. Engels bequeathed the publication to Bebel and Bernstein, and Bebel, shortly before his death, managed to complete his part of the editorial work.

The Marx-Engels correspondence, which was published a few weeks ago in Stuttgart by Dietz, occupies four big volumes. They contain 1,386 letters of Marx and Engels covering the long period from 1844 to 1883.

The editorial work, *i.e.*, the writing of prefaces to the letters of the various periods, has been done by Eduard Bernstein. As might have been expected, this work did not turn out satisfactorily either from a technical or ideological point of view. Bernstein, after his sadly-notorious "evolution" to extreme opportunist views, had no business to undertake the editing of letters thoroughly imbued with a revolutionary spirit. Bernstein's prefaces are in part hollow and in part simply false. For instance, instead of an exact, clear and direct characterization of the opportunist errors of Lassalle and Schweitzer, exposed by Marx and Engels, you meet with eclectic phrases and thrusts, such as, "Marx and Engels were not always in the right against Lassalle" (Volume III, page xviii), or that they "were nearer" to the tactics of Schweitzer than to Liebknecht (Vol. IV, p. x). These attacks serve nothing but to screen and embellish opportunism. Unfortunately, an eclectic attitude to the ideological struggle of Marx with many of his opponents is gaining ever more ground in modern German Social-Democracy.

On the technical side—the index is unsatisfactory; there is one index for all the four volumes (it omits, for instance, the names of Kautsky and Stirling). The notes to individual letters are too meager and are lost in the prefaces of the editor instead of being placed side by side with the corresponding letters, as Sorge did, etc.

The price of the publication is unduly high—about 20 rubles* for all the four volumes. There is no doubt that the complete correspondence could and should have been issued less luxuriously at a

* About $10 par.—*Ed.*

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more accessible price, and, besides this a selection of what is most important from the point of view of principle should have been issued for wide distribution among workers.

All these defects of the publication naturally make an acquaintance with the correspondence more difficult. This is a pity, since its scientific and political value is tremendous. In this correspondence it is not merely that Marx and Engels here stand out before the reader in striking relief and in all their greatness. The extremely rich theoretical content of Marxism is unfolded most vividly since Marx and Engels again and again return in the letters to the most diverse aspects of their teaching, emphasizing and explaining—at times discussing with each other and proving to each other—the most recent (in relation to previous views), most important and most difficult points.

The history of the labor movement throughout the world, at its most important moments and in the most essential points, passes before the reader with striking vividness. Even more valuable is the history of the *politics* of the working class. Prompted by most diverse occurrences, in various countries, in the old world and in the new, and at different historical moments, Marx and Engels would discuss what was most important from the point of view of principle in the formulation of questions concerning the *political* tasks of the working class. Now the epoch covered by the correspondence was just the epoch when the working class became demarcated from bourgeois democracy, the epoch of the rise of an independent labor movement, the epoch when the basic principles of proletarian tactics and policy were being determined. The more frequently one observes, nowadays, how the labor movement in various countries suffers from opportunism in consequence of the stagnation and decay of the bourgeoisie, in consequence of the labor leaders being engrossed in the trivialities of the day's work, etc.—the more valuable becomes the great wealth of material contained in the correspondence, displaying as it does, a most profound understanding of the fundamental revolutionary aims of the proletariat, and an unusually flexible definition of a given problem of tactics, from the point of view of these revolutionary aims, and without the slightest concession to opportunism or revolutionary phraseology.

If one were to attempt to define in one word, so to say, the focus of the whole correspondence, the central point around which the entire network of the ideas, expressed and discussed, turns—that word would be: *dialectics*. The application of materialist dialectics to the elaboration of all political economy, from its foundations, to history, natural science, philosophy and the policy and tactics of the working class—that is what interested Marx and Engels above all.

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It is here that they made the most important and novel contribution and herein lies the stride forward made by their genius in the history of revolutionary thought.

In the account that follows, we intend to give, after a general review of the correspondence, an outline of the more interesting remarks and judgments of Marx and Engels, without in any way pretending to exhaust the entire contents of the letters.

I. GENERAL REVIEW

The correspondence opens with the letters of the twenty-four year old Engels to Marx in 1844. The situation in Germany at that time is brought into striking relief. The first letter is dated the end of September 1844 and was sent from Barmen, where the family of Engels lived and where he himself was born. Then Engels was not quite twenty-four years old. He is weary of the family surroundings and is endeavoring to tear himself free. His father—a despotic and religious manufacturer—is indignant with his son for running about to political meetings and for his Communist convictions.

> "Were it not for mother, whom I dearly love," Engels writes, "I would not have stood it even the few days which still remain before my departure. You cannot imagine," he complains to Marx, "what petty reasons, what superstitious fears are put forward here, in the family, against my departure."

While Engels was in Barmen, where he was delayed a little longer by a love affair, he gave in to his father and for two weeks he went to work in the office of his father's factory:

> "Commerce is abominable," he writes to Marx. "Barmen is an abominable city, abominable is the way they while their time away here, and it is particularly abominable to remain not only a bourgeois but even a manufacturer, *i.e.*, a bourgeois who comes out actively against the proletariat.
>
> "I console myself," continues Engels, "by working on my book on the condition of the working class." (The book appeared, as is known, in 1845 and is one of the best of the socialist literature of the world.) "Well, for outward appearance a Communist may remain a bourgeois and the beast of burden of huckstery, as long as he does not engage in literary pursuits; but to carry on, at one and the same time, wide Communist propaganda and engage in huckstery, in industrial business—this is impossible. Enough, I will go away. On the top of it the sleepy life in the family—Christian and Prussian through and through—I cannot stand it any longer. I might

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> in the end become a German philistine and introduce philistinism into Communism."

Thus wrote young Engels. After the Revolution of 1848 life forced him to return to his father's office and to remain there for many long years "the beast of burden of huckstery", but nevertheless, he stuck to his guns and created for himself not a Christian and Prussian but quite another comradely atmosphere, and he succeeded in becoming for his whole life a relentless enemy of the "introduction of philistinism into Communism".

Public life in a German province in 1844 resembled that in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century before the 1905 Revolution. All were rushing to politics, everywhere there was seething indignation and opposition against the government. The priests attacked the youth for their atheism and the children in bourgeois families quarrelled with their parents for their "aristocratic treatment of the servants or workers".

The general spirit of opposition found its expression in everybody declaring himself a Communist.

> "The Police Comissary in Barmen is a Communist," writes Engels to Marx. "I was in Cologne, in Dusseldorf, in Elberfeld—everywhere, on every step, you come across Communists!" "One ardent Communist, an artist, a caricaturist named Seel, is going to Paris in two months. I am giving him an introduction to you. You will like him. He is an enthusiast, loves music and will be useful as a cartoonist."
>
> "Miracles are happening here in Elberfeld. Yesterday" (this was written on February 22, 1845), "in the biggest hall, in the best restaurant of the city, we held our third Communist meeting. The first meeting was attended by 40 persons, the second by 130 and the third by 200 at least. The whole of Elberfeld and Barmen, from the moneyed aristocracy to the petty shopkeepers, was represented, with the exception only of the proletariat."

These are Engels' exact words. In Germany, they were all Communists then, except the proletariat. Communism was then a form of expression of the opposition moods of all, and most of all —of the bourgeoisie.

> "The most stupid, the most lazy and most philistine people, whom nothing in the world interested, is simply becoming enraptured with Communism."

The chief preachers of Communism were then people like our *Narodniki*, "Socialist-Revolutionaries", "Narodnik Socialists", etc., in reality well-meaning bourgeois more or less furious with the government.

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And in such a situation, among countless numbers of would-be socialist tendencies and fractions, Engels was able to force his way towards *proletarian* socialism, without fearing to break with a mass of good people and ardent revolutionaries but bad communists.

1846. Engels is in Paris. Paris is bubbling over with politics and discussion of various socialist theories. Engels ravenously studies socialism and makes the personal acquaintance of Cadet, Louis Blanc and other outstanding socialists; he runs about visiting newspaper editors and attending various circles.

His main attention is directed to the most serious and most widespread socialist teaching of that time—Proudhonism. Even before the publication of Proudhon's *Philosophy of Poverty* (October 1846, Marx's reply — the famous *Poverty of Philosophy* appeared in 1847), Engels criticized with relentless sarcasm and remarkable depth the main ideas of Proudhon which were then particularly taken up by the German socialist Gruen. His excellent knowledge of the English language (which Marx mastered much later) and English literature enabled Engels at once (letter of September 18, 1846) to cite examples of the bankruptcy in England of the notorious Proudhonist "labor bazaars". Proudhon disgraces socialism, Engels exclaims indignantly. According to Proudhon the workers must *buy out* capital.

Engels at twenty-six simply destroys "true socialism". We find this expression in his letter of October 23, 1846 (long before the *Communist Manifesto*), where Grun is named as its chief representative. "Anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois and philistine" teaching, "empty phrases", all sorts of "general humanitarian" aspirations, "superstitious fear of 'crude' communism" (*Loffel-Kommunismus*, literally: "spoon communism"), "peaceful plans of making humanity happy"—such are the epithets applied by Engels to *all* species of pre-Marxian socialism.

> "The Proudhon Association's scheme," writes Engels, "was discussed for three evenings. At first I had nearly the whole clique against me, but at the end only Eisermann and the other three followers of Gruen. The chief point was to prove the necessity for revolution by force" (October 23, 1834). . . . "In the end I got furious . . . and made a direct attack" on my opponents which "enabled me to lure" them "into an *open attack* on Communism. I announced that before I took part in further discussion we must vote whether we were to meet here as Communists or not. . . . This greatly horrified the Gruenites" and they began to assure us that "they met together 'for the good of mankind'. . . . Moreover, *they must first know what* Communism really was. . . . I gave them an extremely simple definition" so as to admit of no subterfuges on the gist of the question. . . . "I therefore define," writes Engels, "the objects of the Communists in this way: (1) to achieve the interests

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> of the proletariat in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie; (2) to do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement by community of goods; (3) to recognize no means of carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force" (written one and a half years before the 1848 Revolution).

The discussion concluded by the meeting adopting Engels' definition by thirteen votes against two Gruenites. These meetings were attended by nearly twenty journeymen carpenters. Thus in Paris, sixty-seven years ago, the foundations were laid for the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

A year afterwards, in his letter of November 24, 1847, Engels informs Marx that he has prepared a draft of *The Communist Manifesto*, declaring himself, by the way, against putting it in the form of a catechism as previously proposed.

> "I began," writes Engels: "What is Communism? And then straight to the proletariat—history of its origin, difference from former workers, development of the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie, crises, results. . . . In conclusion the Party policy of the Communists. . . ."

This historical letter of Engels on the first draft of the work which travelled the whole world, and which, up to the present, is true in all its fundamentals, and is as full of life and as modern as if it were written yesterday, clearly proves that the names of Marx and Engels are justly placed side by side, as the names of the founders of modern Socialism.

Written in October, 1913, first published on November 28, 1920, in *Pravda*, No. 268.

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Engels' Introduction to Marx's "The Class Struggles in France"

(Prefatory Note)

THIS introduction of Engels to *The Class Struggles in France* has a history of its own. On its publication in the *Vorwaerts* in 1895, the text was subjected to such cuts that Engels' arguments were essentially distorted. Engels wrote about this to Lafargue on April 3, 1895, as follows:

"L. [Engels has in mind Wilhelm Liebknecht] * has played a pretty trick on me. From my *Introduction* to the articles of Marx about France of 1848 to 1850, he has taken everything which could serve to defend *the tactics of peace and anti-violence* at all costs, which he has found it convenient to preach for some time past, especially at the present moment when the Exceptional Law is being prepared in Berlin. But I recommend these tactics only for the *Germany of the present time*, and that too *with essential reservations*. In France, Belgium, Italy and Austria it is impossible to follow this tactic in its entirety and in Germany it can become unsuitable tomorrow."

Indignant at the unceremonious "editorial" work performed on his *Introduction*, Engels also wrote to Kautsky on April 1, 1895:

"To my astonishment I see today in *Vorwaerts* an extract from my *Introduction* printed without my knowledge and dealt with in such a fashion that I appear as a peaceful worshipper of legality *quand meme* [at all costs]. I am therefore so much the more glad that the whole is appearing in its entirety in the *Neue Zeit* so that this *disgraceful impression* will be wiped out.

"I shall very definitely express my opinion about this to Liebknecht and also to those, whoever they may be, who have given him this opportunity to distort my opinion."

It was not an accident that German Social-Democracy has never found time up to now to publish the accurate text of Engels' *Introduction*. It is the case rather that Eduard Bernstein in his *Prerequisites of Socialism* attempted to represent the distorted editing of the *Introduction* by the *Vorwaerts* as a "political testament" in which

* The passages previously omitted are printed here in italics and put in square brackets.

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Engels is supposed to have broken with his revolutionary past. The accurate text of Engels' *Introduction* was published for the first time in 1925 in the U.S.S.R. by the Bolshevik Party, the genuine guardians of the traditions of revolutionary Marxism.

INTRODUCTION

By FRIEDRICH ENGELS

THIS newly republished work was Marx's first attempt, with the aid of his materialist conception, to explain a section of contemporary history from the given economic situation. In *The Communist Manifesto*, the theory was applied in broad outline to the whole of modern history, while in the articles by Marx and myself in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, it was constantly used to interpret political events of the day. Here, on the other hand, the question was to demonstrate the inner casual connection in the course of a development which extended over some years, a development as critical, for the whole of Europe, as it was typical; that is, in accordance with the conception of the author, to trace political events back to the effects of what are, in the last resort, economic causes.

In judging the events and series of events of day-to-day history, it will never be possible for anyone to go right back to the final economic causes. Even today, when the specialized technical press provides such rich materials, in England itself, it still remains impossible to follow day by day the movement of industry and trade in the world market and the changes which take place in the methods of production, in such a way as to be able to draw the general conclusion, at any point of time, from these very complicated and ever changing factors; of these factors, the most important, into the bargain, generally operate a long time in secret before they suddenly and violently make themselves felt on the surface. A clear survey of the economic history of a given period is never contemporaneous; it can only be gained subsequently, after collecting and sifting of the material has taken place. Statistics are a necessary help here, and they always lag behind. For this reason, it is only too often necessary, in the current history of the time, to treat the most decisive factor as constant, to treat the economic situation existing at the beginning of the period concerned as given and unalterable for the whole period, or else to take notice only of such changes in this situation as themselves arise out of events clearly before us, and as, therefore, can likewise be clearly seen. Hence, the materialist method has here often to limit itself to tracing political conflicts back to the struggles between the interests of the social classes and fractions of classes en-

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countered as the result of economic development, and to show the particular political parties as the more or less adequate political expression of these same classes and fractions of classes.

It is self-evident that this unavoidable neglect of contemporaneous changes in the economic situation, of the very basis of all the proceedings subject to examination, must be a source of error. But all the conditions of a comprehensive presentation of the history of the day unavoidably imply sources of error—which, however, keeps nobody from writing contemporary history.

When Marx undertook this work, the sources of error mentioned were, to a still greater degree, impossible to avoid. It was quite impossible during the period of the Revolution of 1848-49 to follow the economic transformations which were being consummated at the same time, or even to keep a general view of them. It was just the same during the first months of exile in London, in the autumn and winter of 1849-50. But that was just the time when Marx began this work. And in spite of these unfavorable circumstances, his exact knowledge, both of the economic situation in France and of the political history of that country since the February Revolution, made it possible for him to give a picture of events which laid bare their inner connections in a way never attained since, and which later brilliantly withstood the double test instituted by Marx himself.

The first test resulted from the fact that after the spring of 1850 Marx once again found leisure for economic studies, and first of all took up the economic history of the last ten years. In this study, what he had earlier deduced, half *a priori*, from defective material, was made absolutely clear to him by the facts themselves, namely, that the world trade crisis of 1847 had been the true mother of the February and March Revolutions and that the industrial prosperity which had been returning gradually since the middle of 1848, and which attained full bloom in 1849 and 1850, was the revivifying force of the newly strengthened European reaction. That was decisive. Whereas in the three first articles (which appeared in the January, February and March number of the *N. Rh. Z.*,* *politisch-oekonomische Revue*, Hamburg, 1850) there was still the expectation of an imminent new upsurge of revolutionary energy, the historical review written by Marx and myself for the last number, which was published in the autumn of 1850 (a double number, May to October), breaks once and for all with these illusions: "A new revolution is only possible as a result of a new crisis. It is just as certain, however, as this." But that was the only essential change which had to be made. There was absolutely nothing to alter in the interpreta-

* *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*

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tion of events given in the earlier chapters, or in the casual connections established therein, as the continuation of the narrative from March 10, up to the autumn of 1850 in the review in question, proves. I have therefore included this continuation as the fourth article in the present new edition.

The second test was even more severe. Immediately after Louis Bonaparte's coup d'etat of December 2, 1851, Marx worked out anew the history of France from February 1848, up to this event, which concluded the revolutionary period for the time being. (*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, third edition, Meissner, Hamburg, 1885.) In this brochure the period which we had depicted in our present publication is again dealt with, although more briefly. Compare this second production, written in the light of decisive events which happened over a year later, with our present publication, and it will be found that the author had very little to change.

The thing which still gives this work of ours a quite special significance is that, for the first time, it expresses the formula in which, by common agreement, the workers' parties of all countries in the world briefly summarize their demand for economic reconstruction: the appropriation by society of the means of production. In the second chapter, in connection with the "right to work", which is characterized as "the first clumsy formula wherein the revolutionary aspirations of the proletariat are summarized", it is said: "But behind the right to work stands the power over capital; behind the power over capital, the appropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the associated working class and, therefore, the abolition of wage labor as well as of capital and of their mutual relationships." Thus, here, for the first time, the proposition is formulated by which modern working class Socialism is equally sharply differentiated both from all the different shades of feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., Socialism and also from the confused community of goods of utopian and spontaneous worker-communism. If, later, Marx extended the formula to appropriation of the means of exchange also, this extension, which, in any case, was self-evident after *The Communist Manifesto*, only expressed a corrollary to the main proposition. A few wiseacres in England have of late added that the "means of distribution" should also be handed over to society. It would be difficult for these gentlemen to say what these economic means of distribution are, as distinct from the means of production and exchange; unless political means of distribution are meant, taxes, poor relief, including the *Sachsenwald* and other endowments. But, first, these are means of distribution now already in collective possession, either of the state or of the commune, and, secondly, it is precisely these we wish to abolish.

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When the February Revolution broke out, we all of us, as far as our conception of the conditions and the course of revolutionary movements was concerned, were under the spell of previous historical experience, namely that of France. It was, indeed, the latter which had dominated the whole of European history since 1789, and from which now once again the signal had gone forth for general revoluntionary change. It was therefore natural and unavoidable that our conceptions of the nature and the path of the "social" revolution proclaimed in Paris in February 1848, of the revolution of the proletariat, were strongly colored by memories of the models of 1789-1830. Moreover, when the Paris upheaval found its echo in the victorious insurrections in Vienna, Milan and Berlin; when the whole of Europe right up to the Russian frontier was swept into the movement; when in Paris the first great battle for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was joined; when the very victory of their class so shook the bourgeoisie of all countries that they fled back into the arms of the monarchist-feudal reaction which had just been overthrown—for us under the circumstances of the time, there could be no doubt that the great decisive struggle had broken out, that it would have to be fought out in a single, long and changeful period of revolution, but that it could only end with the final victory of the proletariat.

After the defeats of 1849 we in no way shared the illusions of the vulgar democracy grouped around the would-be provisional governments *in partibus*.* This vulgar democracy reckoned on a speedy and finally decisive victory of the "people" over the "usurpers"; we looked to a long struggle, after the removal of the "usurpers", between the antagonistic elements concealed within this "people" itself. Vulgar democracy expected a renewed outbreak from day to day; we declared as early as the autumn of 1850 that at least the first chapter of the revolutionary period was closed and that nothing further was to be expected until the outbreak of a new world crisis. For this reason we were excommunicated, as traitors to the revolution, by the very people who later, almost without exception, have made their peace with Bismarck—so far as Bismarck found them worth the trouble.

But we, too, have been shown to have been wrong by history, which has revealed our point of view of that time to have been an illusion. It has done even more: it has not merely destroyed our error of that time; it has also completely transformed the conditions under which the proletariat has to fight. The mode of struggle of 1848

* *In partibus* (*infidelium*)—in the midst of the infidels, and so government that exists only on paper.—*Ed.*

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is today obsolete from every point of view, and this is a point which deserves closer examination on the present occasion.

All revolutions up to the present day have resulted in the displacement of one definite class rule by another; all ruling classes up till now have been only minorities as against the ruled mass of the people. A ruling minority was thus overthrown; another minority seized the helm of State and remodeled the State apparatus in accordance with its own interests. This was on every occasion the minority group, able and called to rule by the degree of economic development, and just for that reason, and only for that reason, it happened that the ruled majority either participated in the revolution on the side of the former or else passively acquiesced in it. But if we disregard the concrete content of each occasion, the common form of all these revolutions was that they were minority revolutions. Even where the majority took part, it did so—whether wittingly or not—only in the service of a minority; but because of this, or simply because of the passive, unresisting attitude of the majority, this minority acquired the appearance of being the representative of the whole people.

As a rule, after the first great success, the victorious minority became divided; one-half was pleased with what had been gained, the other wanted to go still further, and put forward new demands, which, to a certain extent at least, were also in the real or apparent interests of the great mass of the people. In individual cases these more radical demands were realized, but often only for the moment; the more moderate party again gained the upper hand, and what had eventually been won was wholly or partly lost again; the vanquished shrieked of treachery, or ascribed their defeat to accident. But in truth the position was mainly this: the achievements of the first victory were only safeguarded by the second victory of the more radical party; this having been attained, and, with it, what was necessary for the moment, the radicals and their achievements vanished once more from the stage.

All revolutions of modern times, beginning with the great English revolution of the seventeenth century, showed these features, which appeared inseparable from every revolutionary struggle. They appeared applicable, also, to the struggles of the proletariat for its emancipation; all the more applicable, since in 1848 there were few people who had any idea at all of the direction in which this emancipation was to be sought. The proletarian masses themselves, even in Paris, after the victory, were still absolutely in the dark as to the path to be taken. And yet the movement was there, instinctive, spontaneous, irrepressible. Was not this just the situation in which a revolution had to succeed, led certainly by a minority, but this time

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not in the interests of the minority, but in the real interests of the majority? If, in all the longer revolutionary periods, it was so easy to win the great masses of the people by the merely plausible and delusive views of the minorities thrusting themselves forward, how could they be less susceptible to ideas which were the truest reflex of their economic position, which were nothing but the clear, comprehensible expression of their needs, of needs not yet understood by themselves, but only vaguely felt? To be sure, this revolutionary mood of the masses had almost always, and usually very speedily, given way to lassitude or even to a revulsion to its opposite, so soon as illusion evaporated and disappointment set in. But here it was not a question of delusive views, but of giving effect to the very special interests of the great majority itself, interests, which at that time were certainly by no means clear to this great majority, but which must soon enough become clear in the course of giving practical effect to them, by their convincing obviousness. And if now, as Marx showed in the third article, in the spring of 1850, the development of the bourgeois republic that had arisen out of the "social" revolution of 1848 had concentrated the real power in the hands of the big bourgeoisie—monarchistically inclined as it was—and, on the other hand, had grouped all the other social classes, peasants as well as petty bourgeoisie, round the proletariat, so that, during and after the common victory, not they, but the proletariat grown wise by experience, must become the decisive factor—was there not every prospect here of turning the revolution of the minority into the revolution of the majority?

History has proved us, and all who thought like us, wrong. It has made it clear that the state of economic development on the Continent at that time was not, by a long way, ripe for the removal of capitalist production; it has proved this by the economic revolution which, since 1848, has seized the whole of the Continent, has really caused big industry for the first time to take root in France, Austria, Hungary, Poland and, recently, in Russia, while it has made Germany positively an industrial country of the first rank—all on a capitalist basis, which in the year 1848, therefore, still had great capacity for expansion. But it is just this industrial revolution which has everywhere for the first time produced clarity in the class relationships, which has removed a number of transition forms handed down from the manufacturing period and in Eastern Europe even from guild handicraft, and has created a genuine bourgeoisie and a genuine large-scale industrial proletariat and pushed them into the foreground of social development. But owing to this, the struggle of these two great classes, which, apart from England, existed in 1848

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only in Paris and, at the most, a few big industrial centers, has been spread over the whole of Europe and has reached an intensity such as was unthinkable in 1848. At that time the many obscure evangels of the sects, with their panaceas; today the one generally recognized, transparently clear theory of Marx, sharply formulating the final aims of the struggle. At that time the masses, sundered and differing according to locality and nationality, linked only by the feeling of common suffering, undeveloped, tossed to and fro in their perplexity from enthusiasm to despair; today a great international army of Socialists marching irresistibly on and growing daily in number, organization, discipline, insight and assurance of victory. If even this mighty army of the proletariat has still not reached its goal, if, a long way from winning victory with one mighty stroke, it has slowly to press forward from position to position in a hard, tenacious struggle, this only proves, once and for all, how impossible it was in 1848 to win social reconstruction by a simple surprise attack.

A bourgeoisie split into two monarchist sections adhering to two dynasties, a bourgeoisie, however, which demanded, above all, peace and security for its financial operations, faced with a proletariat vanquished, indeed, but still a constant menace, a proletariat round which petty bourgeois and peasants grouped themselves more and more—the continual threat of a violent outbreak, which, nevertheless, offered no prospect of a final solution—such was the situation, as if created for the coup d'etat of the third, the pseudo-democratic pretender, Louis Bonaparte. On December 2, 1851, by means of the army, he put an end to the tense situation and secured for Europe the assurance of domestic tranquility, in order to give it the blessing of a new era of wars. The period of revolutions from below was concluded for the time being; there followed a period of revolutions from above.

The imperial reaction of 1851 gave a new proof of the unripeness of the proletarian aspirations of that time. But it was itself to create the conditions under which they were bound to ripen. Internal tranquility ensured the full development of the new industrial boom; the necessity of keeping the army occupied and of diverting the revolutionary currents outwards produced wars, in which Bonaparte, under the pretext of asserting "the principle of nationality", sought to sneak annexations for France. His imitator, Bismarck, adopted the same policy for Prussia; he made his coup d'etat, his revolution from above, in 1886, against the German Confederation and Austria and no less against the Prussian *Konfliktskammer*.* But Europe was too

* *Konfliktskammer, i.e.*, the Prussian Chamber then in conflict with the government.

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small for two Bonapartes and historical irony so willed it that Bismarck overthrew Bonaparte, and King William of Prussia not only established the little German Empire, but also the French Republic. The general result, however, was that in Europe the autonomy and internal unity of the great nations, with the exception of Poland, had become a fact. Within relatively modest limits, it is true, but, for all that, on a scale large enough to allow the development of the working class to proceed without finding national complications any longer a serious obstacle. The grave-diggers of the Revolution of 1848 had become the executors of its will. And alongside of them rose threateningly the heir of 1848, the proletariat, in the International.

After the war of 1870-71, Bonaparte vanishes from the stage and Bismarck's mission is fulfilled, so that he can now sink back again into the ordinary *Junker*. The period, however, is brought to a close by the Paris Commune. An underhand attempt by Thiers to steal the cannon of the Paris National Guard, called forth a victorious rising. It was shown once more that, in Paris, none but a proletarian revolution is any longer possible. After the victory power fell, wholly of its own accord and quite undisputed, into the hands of the working class. And once again, twenty years after the time described in this work of ours, it was proved how impossible, even then, was this rule of the working class. On the one hand, France left Paris in the lurch, looked on while it bled from the bullets of MacMahon; on the other hand, the Commune was consumed in unfruitful strife between the two parties which divided it, the Blanquists (the majority) and the Proudhonists (the minority), neither of which knew what was to be done. The victory which came as a gift in 1871 remained just as unfruitful as the surprise attack of 1848.

It was believed that the militant proletariat had been finally buried with the Paris Commune. But, completely to the contrary, it dates its most powerful advance from the Commune and the Franco-German war. The recruitment of the whole of the population able to bear arms into armies that could be counted in millions, and the introduction of firearms, projectiles and explosives of hitherto undreamt of efficacy created a complete revolution in all warfare. This, on the one hand, put a sudden end to the Bonapartist war period and insured peaceful industrial development, since any war other than a world war of unheard of cruelty and absolutely incalculable outcome had become an impossibility. On the other hand, it caused military expenditure to rise in geometrical progression, and thereby forced up taxes to exorbitant levels and so drove the poorer classes of people into the arms of Socialism. The annexation of

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Alsace-Lorraine, the most immediate cause of the mad competition in armaments, might set the French and German bourgeoisie chauvinistically at each other's throats; for the workers of the two countries it became a new bond of unity. And the anniversary of the Paris Commune became the first universal commemoration day of the whole proletariat.

The war of 1870-71 and the defeat of the Commune had transferred the center of gravity of the European workers' movement for the time being from France to Germany, as Marx foretold. In France it naturally took years to recover from the bloodletting of May 1871. In Germany, on the other hand, where industry was, in addition, furthered (in positively hot-house fashion) by the blessing of the French milliards and developed more and more quickly, Social-Democracy experienced a much more rapid and enduring growth. Thanks to the understanding with which the German workers made use of the universal suffrage introduced in 1866, the astonishing growth of the Party is made plain to all the world by incontestable figures: 1871, 102,000; 1874, 352,000; 1877, 493,000 Social-Democratic votes. Then came recognition of this advance by high authority in the shape of the Anti-Socialist Law: the Party was temporarily disrupted; the number of votes sank to 312,000 in 1881. But that was quickly overcome, and then, though oppressed by the Exceptional Law, without press, without external organization and without the right of combination or meeting, the rapid expansion really began: 1884, 550,000; 1887, 763,000; 1890, 1,427,000 votes. Then the hand of the state was paralyzed. The Anti-Socialist Law disappeared; socialist votes rose to 1,787,000, over a quarter of all the votes cast. The government and the ruling classes had exhausted all their expedients—uselessly, to no purpose, and without success. The tangible proofs of their impotence, which the authorities, from night watchman to the imperial chancellor, had had to accept—and that from the despised workers—these proofs were counted in millions. The state was at the end of its Latin, the workers only at the beginning of theirs.

But the German workers did a second great service to their cause in addition to the first, which they rendered by their mere existence as the strongest, best disciplined and most rapidly growing Socialist Party. They supplied their comrades of all countries with a new weapon, and one of the sharpest, when they showed them how to use universal suffrage.

There had long been universal suffrage in France, but it had fallen into disrepute through the misuse to which the Bonapartist government had put it. After the Commune there was no workers'

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party to make use of it. Also in Spain it had existed since the republic, but in Spain boycott of the elections was ever the rule of all serious opposition parties. The Swiss experiences of universal suffrage, also, were anything but encouraging for a workers' party. The revolutionary workers of the Latin countries had been wont to regard the suffrage as a snare, as an instrument of government trickery. It was otherwise in Germany. *The Communist Manifesto* had already proclaimed the winning of universal suffrage, of democracy, as one of the first and most important tasks of the militant proletariat, and Lassalle had again taken up this point. When Bismarck found himself compelled to introduce the franchise as the only means of interesting the mass of the people in his plans, our workers immediately took it in earnest and sent August Bebel to the first, constituent Reichstag. And from that day on, they have used the franchise in a way which has paid them a thousandfold and has served as a model to the workers of all countries. The franchise has been, in the words of the French Marxist program, "*transformé, de moyen de duperie qu'il a été jusqu'ici, en instrument d'emancipation*"—they have transformed it from a means of deception, which it was heretofore, into an instrument of emancipation. And if universal suffrage had offered no other advantage than that it allowed us to count our numbers every three years; that by the regularly established, unexpectedly rapid rise in the number of votes it increased in equal measure the workers' certainty of victory and the dismay of their opponents, and so became our best means of propaganda; that it accurately informed us concerning our own strength and that of all hostile parties, and thereby provided us with a measure of proportion for our actions second to none, safeguarding us from untimely timidity as much as from untimely foolhardiness—if this had been the only advantage we gained from the suffrage, then it would still have been more than enough. But it has done much more than this. In election agitation it provided us with a means, second to none, of getting in touch with the mass of the people, where they still stand aloof from us; of forcing all parties to defend their views and actions against our attacks before all the people; and, further, it opened to our representatives in the Reichstag a platform from which they could speak to their opponents in Parliament and to the masses without, with quite other authority and freedom than in the press or at meetings. Of what avail to the government and the bourgeoisie was their Anti-Socialist Law when election agitation and Socialist speeches in the Reichstag continually broke through it?

With this successful utilization of universal suffrage, an entirely new mode of proletarian struggle came into force, and this quickly developed further. It was found that the state institutions, in which

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the rule of the bourgeoisie is organized, offer still further opportunities for the working class to fight these very state institutions. They took part in elections to individual diets, to municipal councils and to industrial courts; they contested every post against the bourgeoisie in the occupation of which a sufficient part of the proletariat had its say. And so it happened that the bourgeoisie and the government came to be much more afraid of the legal than of the illegal action of the workers' party, of the results of elections than of those of rebellion.

For here, too, the conditions of the struggle had essentially changed. Rebellion in the old style, the street fight with barricades, which up to 1848 gave everywhere the final decision, was to a considerable extent obsolete.

Let us have no illusions about it: a real victory of an insurrection over the military in street fighting, a victory as between two armies, is one of the rarest exceptions. But the insurgents, also, counted on it just as rarely. For them it was solely a question of making the troops yield to moral influences, which, in a fight between the armies of two warring countries do not come into play at all, or do so to a much less degree. If they succeed in this, then the troops fail to act, or the commanding officers lose their heads, and the insurrection wins. If they do not succeed in this, then, even where the military are in the minority, the superiority of better equipment and training, of unified leadership, of the planned employment of the military forces and of discipline makes itself felt. The most that the insurrection can achieve in actual tactical practice is the correct construction and defense of a single barricade. Mutual support; the disposition and employment of reserves; in short, the cooperation and harmonious working of the individual detachments, indispensable even for the defense of one quarter of the town, not to speak of the whole of a large town, are at best defective, and mostly not attainable at all; concentration of the military forces at a decisive point is, of course impossible. Hence the passive defense is the prevailing form of fight: the attack will rise here and there, but only by way of exception, to occasional advances and flank assaults; as a rule, however, it will be limited to occupation of the positions abandoned by the retreating troops. In addition, the military have, on their side, the disposal of artillery and fully equipped corps of skilled engineers, resources of war which, in nearly every case, the insurgents entirely lack. No wonder, then, that even the barricade struggles conducted with the greatest heroism—Paris, June 1848; Vienna, October 1848; Dresden, May 1849—ended with the defeat of the insurrection, so soon as the leaders of the attack, unhampered by political considerations, acted from the purely military standpoint, and their soldiers remained reliable.

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The numerous successes of the insurgents up to 1848 were due to a great variety of causes. In Paris in July 1830 and February 1848, as in most of the Spanish street fights, there stood between the insurgents and the military a civic militia, which either directly took the side of the insurrection, or else by its lukewarm, indecisive attitude caused the troops likewise to vacillate, and supplied the insurrection with arms into the bargain. Where this citizens' guard opposed the insurrection from the outset, as in June 1848 in Paris, the insurrection was vanquished. In Berlin in 1848, the people were victorious partly through a considerable accession of new fighting forces during the night and the morning of the 19th, partly as a result of the exhaustion and bad victualling of the troops, and, finally, partly as a result of the paralyzed command. But in all cases the fight was won because the troops failed to obey, because the officers lost their power of decision or because their hands were tied.

Even in the classic time of street fighting, therefore, the barricade produced more of a moral than a material effect. It was a means of shaking the steadfastness of the military. If it held out until this was attained, then victory was won; if not, there was defeat. [*This is the main point, which must be kept in view, likewise when the chances of contingent future street fights are examined.*]

The chances, however, were in 1849 already pretty poor. Everywhere the bourgeoisie had thrown in its lot with the governments, "culture and property" had hailed and feasted the military moving against the insurrections. The spell of the barricade was broken; the soldier no longer saw behind it "the people", but rebels, agitators, plunderers, levelers, the scum of society; the officer had in the course of time become versed in the tactical forms of street fighting, he no longer marched straight ahead and without cover against the improvised breastwork, but went round it through gardens, yards and houses. And this was now successful, with a little skill, in nine cases out of ten.

But since then there have been very many more changes, and all in favor of the military. If the big towns have become considerably bigger, the armies have become bigger still. Paris and Berlin have, since 1848, grown less than fourfold, but their garrisons have grown more than that. By means of the railways, the garrisons can, in twenty-four hours, be more than doubled, and in forty-eight hours they can be increased to huge armies. The arming of this enormously increased number of troops has become incomparably more effective. In 1848 the smooth-bore percussion muzzle-loader, today the small-caliber magazine breech-loading rifle, which shoots four times as far, ten times as accurately and ten times as fast as the former. At that time the relatively ineffective round-shot and grape-

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shot of the artillery; today the percussion shells, of which one is sufficient to demolish the best barricade. At that time the pick-ax of the sapper for breaking through walls; today the dynamite cartridge.

On the other hand, all the conditions on the insurgents' side have grown worse. An insurrection, with which all sections of the people sympathize, will hardly recur; in the class struggle all the middle sections will never group themselves round the proletariat so exclusively that the reactionary parties gathered round the bourgeoisie well-nigh disappear. The "people", therefore, will always appear divided, and with this a powerful lever, so extraordinarily effective in 1848, is lacking. Even if more soldiers who have seen service were to come over to the insurrectionists, the arming of them becomes so much the more difficult. The hunting and luxury guns of the gunshops—even if not previously made unusable by removal of part of the lock by the police—are far from being a match for the magazine rifle of the soldier, even in close fighting. Up to 1848 it was possible to make the necessary ammunition oneself out of powder and lead; today the cartridges differ for each rifle, and are everywhere alike only in one point, that they are a special product of big industry, and therefore not to be prepared *ex tempore*,* with the result that most rifles are useless as long as one does not possess the ammunition specially suited to them. And, finally, since 1848 the newly built quarters of the big towns have been laid out in long, straight, broad streets, as though made to give full effect to the new cannons and rifles. The revolutionary would have to be mad, who himself chose the working class districts in the North and East of Berlin for a barricade fight. [*Does that mean that in the future the street fight will play no further role? Certainly not. It only means that the conditions since* 1848 *have become far more unfavorable for civil fights, far more favorable for the military. A future street fight can therefore only be victorious when this unfavorable situation is compensated by other factors. Accordingly, it will occur more seldom in the beginning of a great revolution than in its further progress, and will have to be undertaken with greater forces. These, however, may then well prefer, as in the whole Great French Revolution on September* 4 *and October* 31, 1870, *in Paris, the open attack to the passive barricade tactics.*]

Does the reader now understand, why the ruling classes decidedly want to bring us to where the guns shoot and the sabers slash? Why they accuse us today of cowardice, because we do not betake ourselves without more ado into the street, where we are certain of

* On the spur of the moment.

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defeat in advance? Why they so earnestly implore us to play for once the part of cannon fodder?

The gentlemen pour out their prayers and their challenges for nothing, for nothing at all. We are not so stupid. They might just as well demand from their enemy in the next war that he should take up his position in the line formation of old Fritz, or in the columns of whole divisions *a la* Wagram and Waterloo, and with the flintlock in his hands at that. If the conditions have changed in the case of war between nations, this is no less true in the case of the class struggle. The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for [*with body and soul*]. The history of the last fifty years has taught us that. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long persistent work is required, and it is just this work which we are now pursuing, and with a success which drives the enemy to despair.

In the Latin countries, also, it is being more and more recognized that the old tactics must be revised. Everywhere [*the unprepared onslaught has gone into the background, everywhere*] the German example of utilizing the suffrage, of winning all posts accessible to us, has been imitated. In France, where for more than a hundred years the ground has been undermined by revolution after revolution, where there is no single party which has not done its share in conspiracies, insurrections and all other revolutionary actions; in France, where, as a result, the government is by no means sure of the army and where, in general, the conditions for an insurrectionary *coup de main* * are far more favorable than in Germany—even in France the Socialists are realizing more and more that no lasting victory is possible for them, unless they first win the great mass of the people, *i.e.*, in this case, the peasants. Slow propaganda work and parliamentary activity are being recognized here, too, as the most immediate tasks of the Party. Successes were not lacking. Not only have a whole series of municipal councils been won; fifty Socialists have seats in the Chambers, and they have already overthrown three ministries and a President of the Republic. In Belgium last year the workers enforced the franchise, and have been victorious in a quarter of the constituencies. In Switzerland, in Italy, in Denmark, yes, even in Bulgaria and Rumania the Socialists are represented in the Parliaments. In Austria all parties agree that our admission to the Reich-

* Sudden attack.—*Ed.*

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srat ** can no longer be withheld. We will get in, that is certain, the only question still in dispute is: by what door? And even in Russia, when the famous *Zemsky Sobor* meets, that National Assembly to which young Nicholas offers such vain resistance, even there we can reckon with certainty on also being represented in it.

Of course, our foreign comrades do not renounce their right to revolution. The right to revolution is, after all, the only real "historical right" the only right on which all modern states without exception rest, Mecklenburg included, whose aristocratic revolution was ended in 1755 by the "hereditary settlement", the glorious charter of feudalism still valid today. The right to revolution is so incontestably recognized in the general consciousness that even General von Boguslawski derives the right to a coup d'etat, which he vindicates for his Kaiser, solely from this popular right.

But whatever may happen in other countries, German Social-Democracy has a special situation and therewith, at least in the first instance, a special task. The two million voters, whom it sends to the ballot box, together with the young men and women, who stand behind them as non-voters, form the most numerous, most compact mass, the decisive "*shock force*" of the international proletarian army. This mass already supplies over a fourth of the recorded votes; and as the by-elections to the Reichstag, the diet elections in individual states, the municipal council and industrial court elections demonstrate, it increases uninterruptedly. Its growth proceeds as spontaneously, as steadily, as irresistibly, and at the same time as tranquilly as a natural process. All government interventions have proved powerless against it. We can count even today on two and a half million voters. If it continues in this fashion, by the end of the century we shall conquer the greater part of the middle section of society, petty bourgeois and small peasants, and grow into the decisive power in the land, before which all other powers will have to bow, whether they like it or not. To keep this growth going without interruption until of itself it gets beyond the control of the ruling governmental system [*not to fritter away this daily increasing shock force in advance guard fighting, but to keep it intact until the day of the decision,*] that is our main task. And there is only one means by which the steady rise of the socialist fighting forces in Germany could be momentarily halted, and even thrown back for some time: a clash on a big scale with the military, a bloodbath like that of 1871 in Paris. In the long run that would also be overcome. To shoot out of the world a party which numbers millions—all the magazine rifles of Europe and America are not enough for this.

** Parliament of the Austrian Empire.—*Ed.*

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But the normal development would be impeded, [*the shock force would, perhaps, not be available at the critical moment,*] *the decisive struggle** would be delayed, protracted and attended by heavy sacrifices.

The irony of world history turns everything upside down. We, the "revolutionaries", the "rebels"—we are thriving far better on legal methods than on illegal methods and revolt. The parties of order, as they call themselves, are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves. They cry despairingly with Odilon Barrot: *la légalité nous tue*, legality is the death of us; whereas we, under this legality, get firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like eternal life. And if we are not so crazy as to let ourselves be driven into street fighting in order to please them, then nothing else is finally left for them but themselves to break through this legality so fatal to them.

Meanwhile they make new laws against revolution. Again everything is turned upside down. These anti-revolt fanatics of today, are they not themselves the rebels of yesterday? Have we, perchance, evoked the civil war of 1866? Have we driven the King of Hanover, the Elector of Hesse, the Duke of Nassau from their hereditary, lawful domains, and annexed these hereditary domains? And do these rebels against the German Confederation and three crowns by the grace of God complain of overthrow? *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?** Who could allow the Bismarck worshippers to rail at revolt?

Let them, nevertheless, put through their anti-revolt bills, make them still worse, transform the whole penal law into india-rubber, they will achieve nothing but a new proof of their impotence. In order seriously to hit Social-Democracy, they will have to resort to quite other measures. They can only hold in check the Social-Democratic revolt which is just now doing so well by keeping within the law, by revolt on the part of the parties of order, which cannot live without breaking the laws. Herr Rossler, the Prussian bureaucrat, and Herr von Boluslawski, the Prussian general, have shown them the only way in which the workers, who refuse to let themselves be lured into street fighting, can still, perhaps, be held in check. Breach of the constitution, dictatorship, return to absolutism, *regis voluntas suprema lex!*** Therefore, only courage, gentlemen; here is no backing out of it; here you are in for it!

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* In the falsified text, the words "*die Entscheidung*" (the decision) have been substituted for "*der Entscheidungskampf*" (the decisive struggle).

* Who would suffer the Gracchi to complain of sedition?

** The King's will is the supreme law.

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But do not forget that the German Empire, just as all small states and generally all modern states, is a product of contract; of the contract, firstly, of the princes with one another and, secondly, of the princes with the people. If one side breaks the contract, the whole contract falls to the ground; the other side is then also no longer bound [*as Bismarck showed us so beautifully in* 1866. *If, therefore, you break the constitution of the Reich, then the Social-Democracy is free, can do and refrain from doing what it will as against you. But what it will do then it will hardly give away to you today!*].

It is now, almost to the year, sixteen hundred years since a dangerous party of revolt made a great commotion in the Roman Empire. It undermined religion and all the foundations of the state; it flatly denied that Cæsar's will was the supreme law; it was without a fatherland, international; it spread over all countries of the Empire from Gaul to Asia, and beyond the frontiers of the Empire. It had long carried on an underground agitation in secret; for a considerable time, however, it had felt itself strong enough to come out into the open. This party of revolt, who were known by the name of Christians, was also strongly represented in the army; whole legions were Christian. When they were ordered to attend the sacrificial ceremonies of the pagan established church, in order to do the honors there, the soldier rebels had the audacity to stick peculiar emblems—crosses—on their helmets in protest. Even the wonted barrack cruelties of their superior officers were fruitless. The Emperor Diocletian could no longer quietly look on while order, obedience and discipline in his army were being undermined. He intervened energetically, while there was still time. He passed an anti-Socialist, I should say anti-Christian, law. The meetings of the rebels were forbidden, their meeting halls were closed or even pulled down, the Christian badges, crosses, etc., were, like the red handkerchiefs in Saxony, prohibited. Christians were declared incapable of holding offices in the State, they were not to be allowed even to become corporals. Since there were not available at that time judges so well trained in "respect of persons" as Herr von Koller's anti-revolt bill assumes, the Christians were forbidden out of hand to seek justice before a court. This exceptional law was also without effect. The Christians tore it down from the walls with scorn; they are even supposed to have burnt the Emperor's palace in Nicomedia over his head. Then the latter revenged himself by the great persecution of Christians in the year 303, according to our chronology. It was the last of its kind. And it was so effective that seventeen years later the army consisted overwhelmingly of Christians, and

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the succeeding autocrat of the whole Roman Empire, Constantine, called the Great by the priests, proclaimed christianity as the state religion.

F. ENGELS.

London, March 6, 1895.

CORRECTION

To the Editor of *The Communist*:

It is necessary to make a correction on a question of fact in the article by Comrade Harrison George: "Armed Struggle of the Filipino Masses", in the June issue of *The Communist*.

The Convention of the Pacific Coast Maritime Federation held in Seattle last April did not disgrace itself by any resolution against the employment of Asiatics on American ships. This story was a pure fabrication on the part of the reactionary chairman of the press committee, a delegate of the Masters, Mates, and Pilots Ruddy who admitted in conversations with other delegates that he was working with the government. Practically every day during the Convention it was necessary for the rank and file delegates to demand retractions and control of the statements issued by this reactionary to the press.

No such motion for discrimination against Asiatics came before the Convention. However, a positive resolution denouncing such discrimination did not get to the floor.

While the criticisms made by Comrade George of the Seattle District's failure to carry out its tasks on behalf of our Filipino brothers must be accepted as justified, nevertheless the Party did succeed in putting a stop to the reactionary move of displacing Filipinos from American ships. Agitational leaflets on this point were issued and the Everett I.L.A. local denounced the discrimination and persuaded the seamen to reverse their action. Similarly in Seattle the rank and file forces repeatedly put a stop to the move towards displacing Filipinos.

Also we might add that just before the Convention Harry Bridges, President of the San Francisco Local of the I.L.A., also issued a statement that was printed widely in the capitalist press up and down the coast, denouncing this practice, demanding that all discrimination be wiped out, and that all workers be taken into the union regardless of nationality, race, or color.

N. SPARKS,
Seattle, Washington

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Documents on International Trade Union Unity

LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS TO THE BUREAU OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

DEAR SIRS: The bourgeoisie, taking advantage of the split in the trade-union movement, succeeded during the five years of the crisis in depriving the workers of capitalist countries, completely or partially, of their political rights and economic achievements.

The condition of the working class in all the capitalist and colonial countries is ever worsening, and becoming more and more insufferable. The toilers are bearing the burden of the crisis. In a number of countries (Germany, Austria and Spain) fascism achieved a temporary victory and did away with all the legal workers' organizations, workers' press and the institutions built by the working class.

Fascism is threatening the labor movement of other countries.

At the same time the relations between the different countries are becoming more and more strained. German fascism is openly preparing for aggressive war. Japanese imperialism is continuing its aggressive actions in the Far East, seizing one Chinese province after another. Italian imperialism is sending its troops to Abyssinia.

At any moment some local conflict can give rise to a new world butchery which will bring unheard-of calamities to toiling mankind.

The working class has sufficient forces in order to repulse an attack, to protect its interests and to prevent a new world slaughter. But this necessitates the joint efforts of the working class in the struggle against the common enemy; this makes it necessary that all the trade-union organizations come out together in a united front against the bourgeoisie and for the achievement of the immediate and common aims of the labor movement; this makes it necessary that the unity of the split trade-union movement be restored.

If the trade union organizations of the world would, on May 1 this year, come out shoulder to shoulder in united ranks against fascism, the offensive of capital and the war danger, such action would be of enormous significance.

It would be of particular importance to carry out successfully in the near future an amalgamation of the trade unions of France and Spain, where serious steps have already been taken in this direction, and to restore by joint action the free trade unions in Germany, whose mass character is necessary for resistance to the attacks of the capitalists and for the overthrow of the fascist regime.

Considering this, the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions proposes to organize a conference of the representatives of the

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Red International of Labor Unions and of the International Trade Union Federation for the discussion of the following questions:

1. Joint actions of the trade unions affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions and to the International Trade Union Federation on May 1 against fascism, the offensive of capital and against war.

2. Assistance in the amalgamation of the trade unions in France and Spain.

3. Assistance in the restoration of the free trade unions in Germany.

We believe at the same time that it would be of great importance to discuss at this conference the question which is of vital significance to the working class of the world, namely, the forms, methods and conditions of the restoration of international trade union unity.

It is understood that we are ready to discuss any proposals of yours concerning the agenda of this conference. We authorize Comrades Racamond and Monmousseau to lead negotiations with you on this question.

Sincerely yours,

EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS

March 7, 1935.

LETTER FROM THE BUREAU OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS TO THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS

CITIZENS:

The Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which acquainted itself at its meeting held on March 14, this year, with the proposals set forth in your letter from Moscow, dated March 7, instructed me to answer you as follows:

The attitude of the International Federation of Trade Unions towards the Communists' proposals for unity of action, a united front or a common front, was so often established and confirmed by the decisions of the Congresses and of the General Council, including the recent decisions made in Weymouth, on August 29, 1934, that it may be considered that this attitude is sufficiently known to the workers' trade-union organizations of the world. The Bureau has neither the right nor the desire to abandon this line of conduct, established by the congresses and sessions of the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions. On the other hand, the International Federation of Trade Unions which observes trade-union discipline cannot accept on an international scale a united front rejected on a national scale by all its affiliated national trade-union centers.

Therefore the Bureau of the I.F.T.U. believes that a conference for the discussion of the three points of the united front, proposed in your letter, can give no practical results.

As for the problem of restoring organizational unity of the international trade-union movement, the Weymouth resolution of August 29, 1934, determines the attitude of the I.F.T.U. and says, basically, as follows: The

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International Federation of Trade Unions has been struggling for trade-union unity since 1919; this Federation declares that this unity is now more necessary than ever and considers that the I.F.T.U. is the base on which the workers of the world can unite. Therefore the I.F.T.U. calls again upon the workers of all countries to join the regular organizations and through them the International Federation of Trade Unions. The latter believes that through applying the slogans of unity put forward by Moscow, the Communist trade unions and the Red International of Labor Unions are prepared to take up this path.

The Bureau was able to state with great satisfaction that the National Trade Union Center of Norway, which kept aloof from the International movement for many years and consequently aroused certain doubts as to its viewpoint on International trade-union unity, made a decision clarifying this question, at its last Congress, held in December, 1934. In agreement on all points with the spirit of the decisions of the International Federation of Trade Unions, this attitude of the Norwegian Trade Union Center is outlined in its letter dated February 14, and addressed by the Norwegian Secretariat to the R.I.L.U., in the formal question worded as follows: "Is the Red International of Labor Unions prepared to encourage the restoration of trade-union unity in all the countries where certain groups in the past disaffiliated from the National Trade Union Center? A Trade Union International should be based on one national organization in every country."

Therefore it is necessary that the Red International of Labor Unions inform the Bureau of the I.F.T.U. first of all whether it is prepared to accept the preliminary conditions which the International Federation of Trade Unions (and also the National Trade Union Center of Norway) consider necessary with a view to the realization of this international trade-union unity.

Accept, Citizens, our Trade Union Greeting,
on behalf of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

V. SCHEVENELS, *General Secretary*.

LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS TO THE BUREAU OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

CITIZENS:

The Executive Bureau received your negative answer to the proposal of the Red International of Labor Unions of March 7 concerning joint organization of May First, assistance in the amalgamation of the trade unions in France and Spain, restoration of the free trade unions in Germany, and initiation of negotiations on international trade-union unity.

You write that in view of the decision of the Congresses and General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Weymouth, the

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united front and unity of action are out of the question and that "a conference on the three points proposed by the R.I.L.U. can give no practical results".

Your repudiation of joint action does not meet the interests of the working class. Hardly any member of any trade union can deny the appalling conditions of the working masses caused by the offensive of capital against their living standards, growth of fascism and of the fascist organizations, and the resulting necessity for the workers to unite all their forces, all their trade-union organizations for a joint struggle against their common enemy.

The wages in all capitalist countries were reduced markedly during the period of the crisis. Even according to evidently minimized official data, the working class lost tens of billions of dollars in wages alone. The exploitation of the workers increased tremendously as the result of the savage speed-up and direct economic and political pressure brought to bear on the working class. Simultaneously with the unheard-of growth of poverty, suicides and prostitution, social insurance and social legislation are worsened and completely done away with in such countries as Austria, Germany and Poland. With the exception of a few countries where curtailed State insurance still exists, millions of unemployed have to live on charity doles. Instead of benefit fixed by law at the expense of those responsible for unemployment, *i.e.*, the employers and State, the workers are getting miserable doles; instead of work, they are sent to labor camps. Only the war industry works at full speed; it works to enable the imperialists to secure a new redivision of the world by means of a new world war, even though it would cost tens of millions of human lives again. Monopoly capital, which strives for a further intensification of exploitation, established a fascist dictatorship in a number of countries and smashed not only those workers' organizations which declared against collaboration with the bourgeoisie but also the trade unions which cooperated with the capitalists. In the heart of Europe, in Germany, the dictatorship of frantic fascist murderers was established. This happened because the working class of Germany did not come out in a united front against oncoming fascism, because the leadership of the German Federation of Trade Unions (A.D.G.B.), the most powerful section of your International, expelled the revolutionary workers and not only kept rejecting the united front but always sabotaged joint action, describing as provocateurs all those who called for joint strikes and for a real struggle against the fascists. The leadership of the A.D.G.B. kept repeating from year to year that a united front against capital would be to no effect and now you are literally repeating the bankrupt policy of the A.D.G.B. leaders, a policy which cost the working class of Germany so much. Do not the world-shaking events in Germany and Austria cry out for the necessity of the greatest possible consolidation and unification of the working class forces in the struggle against the capitalists? Is it not clear what a great role the rebuilding of the free trade unions in Germany would play in overthrowing fascism, this main instigator of the world war?

If we consider the results of the economic struggles of the past period, we shall see that in this field as well, the split and the repudiation of joint action, which was by no means called forth by the interests of the working class, were very disastrous for the workers. Hundreds and thousands of strikes in France, the U.S.A., Czechoslovakia, Poland, Great Britain, Belgium, the Scandinavian and Balkan countries were defeated because the united front of capital was faced by the split front of the working class as the result of the class collaboration policy pursued by the leaders of the reformist trade unions. On the other hand, a large number of strikes were successful,

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thanks to unity of action of the workers of all tendencies, based on class struggle. Were there not scores of cases of the failure of strikes because of weak and inadequate international solidarity, because the capitalists of one country were backed up by capitalists of other countries during a strike, the strikers getting no necessary support and assistance on the part of the organizations of their own international? Remember the strikes of the miners, transport workers, textile workers, etc., in Great Britain, Germany France and Czechoslovakia. Where then is international solidarity? Where is the elementary community of class interests? Who can refute these irrefutable facts?

There is no attempt even in your letter to prove that joint action of the workers on May First, or assistance in amalgamating the trade unions of France and Spain, and assistance in rebuilding the free trade unions in Germany are not demanded by the interests of the international proletariat. You simply reject a united front with the revolutionary workers, at the same time practically supporting a united front of the leaders of your international with the bourgeois parties in the government of Belgium (Delattre), the united front between Leon Jouhaux, Vice-President of the Amsterdam International, with Garnier, President of the Chamber of Commerce of France and with the big officials on the National Commission for Public Works, the composition of which is determined by a special decree issued by Lebrun, President of the Republic, on March 30, 1935. Many other examples could be given of the leaders of your international finding the basis for a "united front" and for "joint action" with the representatives of the employers' organizations. At the same time you have no desire to establish a united front between the trade unions affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions and the trade unions affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions in the struggle for the common demands of the working class as a whole.

The Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions rejects a united front without the knowledge and consent of the trade-union masses but in their name, while in a number of countries the members of the trade unions affiliated to your international eagerly and energetically come out for a united front and unity of action. The most striking proof of this may be furnished by the general strike in February last year and by many economic strikes in 1934 and 1935 in France during which the members of the Unitary General Confederation of Labor and of the General Confederation of Labor fought shoulder to shoulder, by the armed battles of the Austrian workers, by the strikes and armed fights of the workers in Spain, during which the members of both the trade union internationals fought together against the common enemy, and finally by the setting up of a number of unified trade unions in France, Austria and Spain which unite the workers affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions and to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

As to the part of your letter dealing with the question of international trade-union unity, it deliberately complicates and confuses the question which is clear to the working masses. The Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. proposed to discusse the question of the *forms, methods and conditions of the unification of the world trade-union movement* at a conference of the representatives of both the Internationals. In answer to this concrete proposal you refer to the resolution of the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Weymouth. This resolution of yours proposes, as a

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preliminary condition, to form unified trade-union centers in every country through the affiliation of the revolutionary trade unions to the so-called "regular" organizations and through the liquidation of the R.I.L.U.

The Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. is also of the opinion that international trade-union unity can and must be built on the basis of trade-union unity in every country. The R.I.L.U. is not only "ready to encourage the restoration of trade-union unity in all countries" but carries it through in practice, in conjunction with its sections. Considerable successes have been achieved in this field in France and even under the conditions of illegal work in Spain and Austria. The Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions rejects unity of action proposed by the R.I.L.U. with a view to creating a powerful unified trade-union movement in these countries, which would greatly facilitate and accelerate the organizational merging of the Trade Union Internationals. You have refused even to hold negotiations on this question, rejecting *unification* on the basis of agreement and insist on an absolutely inadmissible formula of the liquidation and dissolution of the revolutionary trade unions, thereby helping to aggravate the split.

As for the question of "regular" organizations, you do not proceed in your decisions from the fact of the actual existence of the Red International of Labor Unions and from the active struggle waged by the revolutionary trade unions against capital but from the formal questions belonging to the past. You talk about "regular" organizations. But what are these "regular" organizations? Who seceded from whom? If we were to adopt your viewpoint it would mean that your trade unions in Holland are to reaffiliate to the syndicalist National Labor Secretariat from which they disaffiliated; it would mean that the reformist Railwaymen's Federation and a number of other federations of France are to return to the corresponding unitary federations, which they left in 1921, after the revolutionary workers received the overwhelming majority of votes at the congresses; and that the reformist union of agricultural workers of Czechoslovakia is to return to the Red Union of Agricultural Workers from which a small minority seceded. If we were to adopt your vewpoint it would mean that the reformist Federation of Trade Unions in Rumania should have affiliated to the revolutionary trade unions which had a considerable majority during the Congress of 1923 in Klausenberg. You are probably aware as well of the fact that the enormous majority of the Finnish Trade Union Federation consisted of R.I.L.U. adherents and that the adherents of your International seceded from the unified trade-union center being backed up by not more than one-fifth of the organized workers. The adherents of your International are now at the head of the Finnish Trade Union Federation only because the Finnish Government smashed the old trade-union federations and arrested hundreds of functionaries. The situation is similar in Jugoslavia and in a number of other countries.

You know perfectly well that it is not the matter of "groups" but of hundreds, thousands and millions of workers who are playing a great role in the class struggle of the proletariat of their countries and of the whole world. Organized in the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. there are at present over 19,000,000 workers and employees who play an outstanding role in the destinies of their own country and of the international labor movement. The revolutionary trade unions of China, France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Japan, Cuba, Chile, the U.S.A., Italy, Canada, the Philippines, Austria, Germany, India, South Africa, Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, etc., are waging a struggle against the bourgeoisie. Although in some countries the number

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of members of the trade unions, driven underground, declined for the past three years as the result of terror, unheard-of persecutions and mass murders (Japan, Italy), even the bourgeoisie does not venture to deny the tremendous significance of these trade unions in the class struggle of the proletariat. An international trade-union organization under the present conditions cannot but have illegal trade unions in its midst in order to help the workers' organizations to become legal by means of its struggle.

It is not a matter of "seceded groups". The congresses of the General Council of your International may pass as many resolutions on this question as they wish but it is a *question of an international trade-union organization uniting the revolutionary workers of the world.* It is the question of an organization which is anxious for trade-union unity, realizing full well the degree and extent of our differences of opinion. Unity of the world trade-union movement can and will be established only if the negotiations are carried on *on the basis of the equality* of both the Internationals, only if unity is built on the basis of trade-union democracy, on the basis of proportional representation in the leading organs for the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and war.

The R.I.L.U. Executive Bureau rejects therefore any ultimatums whatsoever and *confirms once more its readiness to discuss, in conjunction with the representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions* and with the representatives of the trade-union centers of all countries *the forms, methods and conditions of the unification of the trade unions in every country and on an international scale.* The attitude of the Bureau of the International Federation of the Trade Unions which has rejected the negotiations is one of preserving and deepening the split, whatever phrases about unity are used to disguise its policy.

It is not a question of liquidating the trade unions affiliated to one of the internationals, of liquidating one of the internationals in favor of the other, nor of the affiliation of one trade-union organization to the other, but it is a question of the merging of parallel trade-union organizations on the basis of *broad trade-union democracy, of building a unified trade union in every industry, a unified trade-union federation in every country, and a unified trade-union international.* He who wants to struggle in deed against the offensive of capital, against fascism and war, cannot and must not be opposed to unity of action and to trade-union unity.

The number of members of your trade unions who insist on the necessity for a united front and unity is ever growing. This may be shown by the existence of 561 unified trade unions in France, by the newly started amalgamation of the reformist and revolutionary trade unions in Spain, by the formation of illegal trade unions in Austria, through the joint efforts of the Communists and Social-Democrats. Your answer is not the answer of millions of workers organized in your international. The vital interests of the working masses imperatively dictate the necessity for unity of action. The R.I.L.U. wants to know their opinion. The R.I.L.U. will do all in its power to render a general and mass character to the joint demonstrations on May First. The R.I.L.U. will do all in its power to accelerate the amalgamation of the trade unions in France, Spain and elsewhere, on the basis of the class struggle, and through joint action against capital. The R.I.L.U. will do all in its power to rebuild the free trade unions in Germany, the trade unions which will wage a real struggle against fascism. The R.I.L.U. *will do all in its power to build a unified trade-union movement in every*

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country and a unified trade-union international on the basis of the class struggle.

The restoration of trade-union unity will not only strengthen considerably the fighting power of the working class, but also serve as a starting point for the influx of huge masses of unorganized workers to the amalgamated trade unions.

The trade-union split caused by the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie brought innumerable disasters to the working class. The bourgeoisie shifted the whole burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the toilers. In a number of countries the fascists smashed the trade-union organizations. The danger of imperialist wars threatens the working class again as in 1914. The actions of the trade-union leaders during the war, when they placed the trade unions at the service of the militarists, are still fresh in the memory of the workers. Such a utilization of trade unions can be avoided by the establishment of the united front, by the struggle against the capitalists and by the carrying out of trade-union unity. Therefore, it is necessary that the members of all the trade unions take this matter into their own hands.

The Executive Bureau proposes to the organizations affiliated to the R.I.L.U.:

a. To address the corresponding trade unions of other tendencies with the proposal to organize joint meetings, demonstrations and strikes on May First against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the impending war.

b. To arrange for joint meetings of the members of the trade unions affiliated to both the Internationals for the discussion of the question of unity of action and trade-unity unity.

The Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. proposes to the trade-union organizations of both the Internationals to organize a *referendum amongst the trade union members on joint action and on the establishment of trade-union unity*. Thus, it will be left to the membership mass to decide this cardinal question of the international labor movement.

We will pass over our proposal and your answer to the judgment of the members of both Internationals. Let the working masses give their decisive answer. The Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. is firmly convinced that the *members of your trade unions and a considerable portion of the functionaries, realizing the gravity of the situation, will declare for the united front and international trade-union unity.*

With trade union greetings,

EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS

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From Colonial Oppression to Socialist Construction

Reviewed by JOSEPH FREEMAN

A COMBINATION of Marxist intellectual discipline with a lyric gift has imparted to Joshua Kunitz' study of Soviet Asia* unique literary qualities. This book, the first on the subject to appear in English, gives us at once a history of the Bolshevik Revolution in Bokhara, an analysis of Communist theory and practice in regard to the oppressed nations, vivid portraits of personalities on both sides of the struggle, a dramatic narrative of the transformation of a people, striking paintings of their environment, and the flavor of their poetry. The author has succeeded in weaving basic economic, political, social and cultural factors into the full story of an exploited backward people marching through painful struggle from feudalism toward Socialism.

As a man of letters, Kunitz is sensitive to the romantic aspects of Bokhara; as a Marxist, he understands and applies the excellent advice of the local Bolshevik leader Khodzhaiev, who warns him not to emphasize the exotic in that ancient land, but to observe the new rising alongside the old, to grasp the significance of the extraordinary advances in agriculture, industry, sanitation, culture and daily life.

Stalin has pointed out that as compared with all the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the East, the Soviet Republics in Central Asia have the following distinguishing characteristics: (1) they are free from the imperialist yoke; (2) their national development proceeds not under the guidance of a bourgeois but of a Soviet Power; (3) in so far as they are as yet industrially backward, they can count on the industrial proletariat of the most advanced republics in the Soviet Union to aid them in accelerating their industrial development; (4) being free from the colonial yoke, being under the protection of the proletarian dictatorship and being members of the Soviet Union, these republics can be drawn into the Socialist upbuilding of the country.

Furthermore, the course of the Socialist revolution in Central Asia has great international significance, particularly in its solution of the national question. The entire Orient watches events in that region—and western imperialism more than watches the Orient. Conscious of the general implications of his theme, Kunitz has dedicated his volume to the Negro people of the United States, themselves occupying in this country a status in some ways analogous to that of the colonial people. His narrative, detailed, documented and dramatic, shows us the destruction of the feudal system by a revolution which begins with national liberation as its first objective; and the stages through which a liberated colonial country, skipping the capitalist phase of development, passes from a primitive natural economy to the beginnings of socialism.

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* *Dawn Over Samarkand: The Rebirth of Central Asia*, by Joshua Kunitz. International Publishers, New York. $1.90.

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Here Kunitz distinguishes himself from the "impartial" anti-Soviet writers by the thoroughness with which he describes *pre*-revolutionary conditions in Bokhara. This gives us the first standard by which to measure the progress of the revolution. His numerous citations from the writings and speeches of Lenin and Stalin and from Communist Party documents gives us the second necessary standard—the goal toward which the Socialist revolution is moving.

Prior to the revolution, Kunitz points out, Bokhara was the citadel of Arabian-Persian culture, the heart of Islam in Middle Asia. It was a theocracy in which the Moslem clergy, headed by the Emir, was omnipotent, controlling education, justice and domestic relations. Wealthy, disciplined, absolute, the clergy crushed every sign of intellectual independence among the people, every tendency toward secular education and science, for fear these might undermine the established order.

The Emir, who exercised supreme authority in all things spiritual, also wielded absolute temporal power. All offices, national and local, were under his direct control.

Bokhara was a feudal land whose vast riches and national treasury were the personal property of the Emir. As is usually the case under these circumstances, the Emir did nothing to develop industry, commerce or agriculture in Bokhara. The entire country contained not a single theater, only one privately owned movie, three small hospitals, and a few badly paved streets in the capital. Nothing was spent on irrigation, roads, bridges, schools or sanitation.

The tsarist empire, which had annexed Central Asia in the 'sixties and 'seventies, avoided here the policy of Russification which it followed in the Ukraine and Poland. Russian imperialism in Central Asia, like French imperialism in Algeria, legally and geographically segregated the native peoples from the Russian invaders, and confined itself to the essential factor of *economically* exploiting the natives through their native rulers. As Russian capitalism expanded, the tsarist regime converted Turkestan, and to a lesser degree Bokhara and Khiva, into sources of raw materials for Russian industry. For this purpose, tsarism artificially blocked the development of native manufactures, prohibiting the manufacture of textiles altogether.

This policy of necessity modified the economy of the Bokharan villages. Industrial crops, especially cotton, began to play an increasingly important role: Russian capitalists bought raw cotton from the Bokhara peasants and sold them manufactured goods. To facilitate these imports and exports, they opened banks, trading posts, and commercial offices, thereby transforming the natural economy of Bokhara into an exchange economy.

The growth of commercial capital disintegrated the feudal and patriarchal relations of the colonial country. The peasant masses, already ground down by the exploitation of their own aristocracy, were still further pauperized. The village population was sharply divided into the extremely poor, the landless and the tenant farmers at the one end, and at the other the rapidly prospering landlords and kulaks. Under capitalist conditions, cotton-growing proved to be disastrous for the mass of the natives. The poorer peasants were compelled to obtain advance credits in order to grow cotton, chiefly from private cotton firms and individual usurers. Unpaid mortgages led to foreclosures, with the result that a vast army of landless peasants wandered from region to region in search of jobs. Only the richer peasants,

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the kulaks and beys, found cotton growing profitable; they alone could raise that crop without resorting to loans.

For the majority of native peasants, the transition from primitive natural economy to commercial farming under imperialist conditions caused infinite suffering and widespread ruin. As wealth became more and more concentrated in the hands of the Russian bankers, the native money leaders, the Emir and the beys, the poverty of the mass of the pople increased.

The great social ferment which followed the Russo-Japanese War, and whose high point was the 1905 Revolution, spread from the center of the empire to the backward minority peoples. The intellectuals in Bokhara and Turkestan avidly read the nationalist press of the Tatars and Tyurks of the Volga, the Crimea and the Caucasus, and from it borrowed the name *Djadid* —the New—for the nationalist societies which sprang up in Central Asia. At first the Djadid movement was purely cultural and legal, agitating merely for secular education and a few minor administrative reforms. Under the impact of the national revolution in Turkey and Persia in 1908, Djadidism became more political, and consequently was driven underground.

The February Revolution in the empire brought the Djadids into the open. The Provisional Government in Petrograd sent dispatches to the Emir urging immediate reforms and then forgot about Central Asia. It did not even appoint its own representative but retained Miller, appointed by the tsar. Miller, needless to say, cooperated with the Emir in breaking the Djadid movement. The more revolutionary elements thereupon organizd the Young Bokhara Party whose program called for the overthrow of the Emir.

What might have been a purely national movement, similar to that in Turkey, Persia and China was altered by the October Revolution. From Petrograd the newly established Soviet Government issued its Declaration of People's Rights which announced (1) the final and irrevocable liberation of all the peoples who had suffered under the despotism of the tsar, (2) the guarantee of the equality and sovereignty of all the peoples of Russia, (3) the right of all the peoples in Russia to self-determination, including the right to separation and the formation of independent states, (4) the abolition of all national and religious privileges and restrictions, (5) the free development of the national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting Russian territory. Several days later there came the Soviet Government's Proclamation to the Mohamedans of Russia and the Orient, signed by Lenin and Stalin. This document declared that henceforth Moslem beliefs and customs, national institutions and cultures were free and inviolable. The peoples of the Moslem East were urged to build their national lives free and unhampered. These rights, like the rights of all the peoples of Russia, were under the powerful protection of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

From the sharply divided society of Bokhara, which Kunitz analyzes on a class basis in lucid detail, these declarations of the Soviet Government evoked contrary responses. The Emir and the upper clergy and officialdom correctly feared that the Bolsheviks, spokesmen of the revolutionary Russian masses, would deal with the Young Bokharans, spokesmen of the Bokharan people. Opinion among the Djadids and Young Bokharans ranged from bourgeois nationalism to Bolshevik internationalism. The bourgeois nationalist Djadids wanted to overthrow the Emir, break away from Bolshevik Russia, establish a constitutional democratic republic and start on an ambitious career

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of native capitalist development with native capital guaranteed every advantage. They feared that after abolishing all vestiges of the old empire, the Bolsheviks would create "their own—Red, but Russian—empire". The more revolutionary Djadids believed in the sincerity of the Bolsheviks, pointing out that self-determination was not a Bolshevik "trick" but an old Marxist idea dating back to *The Communist Manifesto* and reiterated by congresses of the Second International at London, Paris, Amsterdam and Stuttgart. These ideas had been again reiterated, with specific application to Russia, at the April Conference of the Bolsheviks seven months before they came into power.

In these ideas there was seeming contradiction. The Bolsheviks spoke in the same breath of *separation*, and of its apparent opposite, *unification*.

Stalin clarified this apparent contradiction when he pointed out how the national policy of the proletariat differs from that of the bourgeoisie. The motive and aim of the slogan of self-determination as raised by the Bolsheviks is unification. The April Theses made it clear that the question of the *right* of nations to secede freely from the Socialist Federation under the Soviet regime is not to be confused with the question of the *expediency* of secession of one or another nation at one or another moment; the question of expediency must in each separate instance be determined in entire independence by the party of the proletariat in accordance with the interests of general development and of the proletarian class struggle for socialism.

This policy of the Communists is not confined to the U.S.S.R. Aptly, Kunitz cites the Comintern resolution on the Negro question in the United States which distinguishes between the right of separation of the Negro people from the federal government of this country and the expediency of exercising that right in *all* circumstances. Here the policy of the Communists varies according to the specific conditions. If the proletariat comes into power in the United States, the *right* of the Negroes to governmental separation will be unconditionally realized; the Communist Party will give the Negro population of the Black Belt freedom of choice in this as in other questions. But the Communist Negroes will naturally oppose separation from the American Socialist federation; the Communists will seek to convince the Negro masses that it is much better and to the interest of the Negro nation for the Black Belt to be a free republic, where the Negro majority has complete right of self-determination but remains governmentally federated with the great proletarian republic of the United States. The bourgeois counter-revolution, on the other hand, will then be interested in promoting separatist tendencies among the various nationalities in order to utilize separatist nationalism as a barrier for the bourgeois counter-revolution against the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship.

With a wealth of detail Kunitz describes just how this sort of thing happened in Bokhara. To the bourgeoisie of Central Asia, which constituted the Right-wing of the Djadid movement, national self-determination meant a democratic republic giving them unrestricted opportunity to develop native industry and trade and to exploit their poorer compatriots without Russian interference or competition. They hated the Emir and the clerical-feudal regime because these had worked hand in hand with the tsarist oppressor to the detriment of the native bourgeoisie; but they hated Bolshevism even more, because Bolshevism looked upon the worker and peasant masses, and not upon the bourgeoisie, as the real exponents of the national will. The bourgeoisie in Bokhara, as everywhere else in the world, identified the "national" interest with its own interest; Bolshevism everywhere identified

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the national interest with the interest of the overwhelming majority of the nation—the laborers, farmers and intellectual workers.

The liberal Djadids chose the "lesser evil"; they allied themselves with the feudal-clerical forces under the Emir, and in the effort to escape a "red imperialism" which never existed outside their fantasies they threw themselves into the arms of British imperialism which was very much alive in Asia. The proletarian revolution in Central Asia—as in Russia itself, and later in China—was compelled to fight the native exploiter babbling about national "freedom" and his imperialist ally, hungry for further annexations and spheres of influence.

The struggle for power in Bokhara, long and complicated, is brilliantly described by Kunitz, who manages at the same time to draw the necessary political lessons. He points out that if the Emir was able to maintain himself in Bokhara for three years after adjacent Turkestan had a Bolshevik government, it was due, in part, to the weaknesses of the local Communist Party, to the lack of harmony between the Russian Communists and the few native Communist workers and intellectuals.

The technique of the imperialists in a colonial country is to cooperate with the native rulers in exploiting the native masses; the technique of a proletarian revolutionary party in a colonial peasant country must be to attract the peasant masses, to win them away from reactionary, feudel, clerical influences. This requires unqualified cooperation with the native masses in eradicating both the foreign and the native exploiters.

The Russian Bolshevik—like the Yankee organizer in a Latin American country, or a British Bolshevik in India, or a white Communist among the Negro sharecroppers of the South—had to win the confidence of the native masses, convince them of his sincerity, impress them with his tact, his sympathy and his familiarity with local conditons. The least trace of prejudce or patronage on his part, Kunitz points out, was bound to arouse resentment and suspicion on the part of oppressed peoples accustomed to hate and distrust the "superior" race as a whole, without distinction as to class or political creed. Lenin warned the Russian Communists that in Central Asia the name Russian was, for obvious reasons, synonomous with *oppressor*, therefore the Russian Communist must cleanse himself of all traces of chauvinism.

Unfortunately, some of the Russian Bolsheviks in Bokhara adopted a superior attitude toward the Moslem workers at first and tried to keep them out of social and political activity. This disastrous policy was counteracted by a resolution adopted by the First Congress of the Communist Party of Turkestan, in June 1918, which urged "complete confidence in the Moslem workers" and their admission into the Red Army.

The overthrow of the Emir in 1920, after three years of bitter civil war, resulted in the establishment of the Soviet Republic of Bokhara. Six months later, on March 4, 1921, the new state entered into a series of agreements with the Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics (R.S.F.S.R.) —the U.S.S.R. was not formed until December, 1922. In these agreements, the R.S.F.S.R. renounced "the colonial policy of the former capitalist governments of Russia for which the laboring masses of Bokhara, like other nations of the East, have always been an object of exploitation". It also recognized "without reservation, the self government and complete independence of the Bokhara Soviet Republic with all the consequences deriving therefrom". One of these consequences was the unconditional right of Bokhara

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not to join the R.S.F.S.R. or to secede from it after it had joined. Soviet Bokhara chose *not* to join. Its agreement with the R.S.F.S.R. was a "treaty of alliance" based on the premise that "there can be no conflict of interest among the toiling masses of all countries", and that the "betterment of the workers' existence is rendered possible solely by their struggles in common and uniting their forces against the imperialist bourgeoisie of the world". The preamble to the agreement further declared that the "working masses, after having eliminated the possibility of exploiting each other, are interested in strengthening the productive forces".

In this spirit, the R.S.F.S.R. agreed to aid Bokhara in establishing and developing its own industrial and other economic enterprises by supplying the latter with all the necessary materials and implements of production. It further agreed to supply the necessary contingents of engineers, technicians, hydro-electricians and other experts for organizing mining, manufacturing and irrigation in Bokhara, and to send instructors, including military instructors, with a knowledge of the native languages, teachers, school manuals, literature, printing equipment, etc. Moreover, in order to give Bokhara immediate aid for the restoration and development of its economic life, the R.S.F.S.R. loaned it "an unredeemable subsidy"—that is, a subsidy which Bokhara would not have to repay.

This agreement was fulfilled. It revealed in action, as well as in theory, the difference between imperialist and Communist policy in regard to the oppressed races and nationalities. The right to separation instead of forcible annexation, the development of national economy instead of its arrest for the purpose of maintaining a source of raw materials, cheap labor and a market for finished goods, education of the masses instead of compulsory illiteracy and ignorance, "unredeemable subsidies" instead of heavy taxes, tributes, bribes and the kind of loans which keep Cuba, Nicaragua and other Latin American countries in perpetual peonage to the big banks of the United States.

The second phase of the Bokharan revolution was marked by the military struggle with the British-backed movement for the restoration of the old regime. This struggle consumed wealth, energy and strength; but it had this favorable political result: it intensified the process of class differentiation in the cities and villages of western and central Bokhara. Poor and middle peasants, in direct contact with the counter-revolution, lost faith in its nationalist and religious slogans, and swung hostility or neutrality toward the revolution into active sympathy with it, forming partisan detachments and cooperatng with the Red Army. By 1923 there was a large organization of poor and middle peasants—the Peasants Union—crystalizing peasant opposition to the beys, kulaks, and mullahs. In the cities there was a similar process: Bokhara, where organized labor was hardly known, now had trade unions of builders, teachers, weavers, unskilled workers, and artisans, whose influence in revolutionizing the masses was great.

Constructive work was carried on simultaneously with the military defense of Soviet Bokhara against the counter-revolution. Achievements in this period are impressive when we consider what Bokhara was under the feudal-clerical regime and the havoc wrought by Civil War. The exchange of commodities between city and village was considerably improved; state trading centers were in operation; various commercial enterprises were launched with the participation of private capital, there was an increase in the exports of raw materials to and manufactured goods from Russia, three banks were established, railway, telegraph and telephone communications destroyed by the

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Civil War were rebuilt and state revenues grew considerably. Twenty-eight per cent of these revenues were spent on education in 1923. The U.S.S.R. sent 160 doctors and 154 nurses to Bokhara, drugs were imported from Germany and Russia, and the Institute of Tropical Medicine was established, which drastically reduced malaria in the country and practically eliminated it from the city of Bokhara.

Such measures won the peasantry over to the revolution, and spelt the doom of the restoration movement. The years 1924-25 brought to a close the second phase of the Bokharan revolution. The delegates to the Fifth All-Bokharan Congress reported a 100 per cent increase in the cotton area as compared with 1923, and marked advances in agriculture as a whole, in cattle raising, in imports and exports, in irrigation, in government commercial enterprises. These advances were made under the most difficult conditions as a direct result of breaking up the old feudal-clerical-imperialist order, deliberately skipping the capitalist stage of historical development, and pursuing a more or less Socialist course, guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and aided by the proletariat of the other Soviet republics. The Congress signalized these achievements by changing the name of the country to the *Socialist* Soviet Republic of Bokhara. The addition of the word "Socialist" indicated the ideological growth of the native leaders, their acceptance of the Bolshevik thesis as to the Socialist character of the Bokharan revolution, and their readiness to join the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

This last had important bearing on the solution of the national question. In addition to the hostility between the Russian and Central Asian masses which the revolution had removed, there were strained relations among the various peoples who for centuries had lived under the Emir in mutual antagonism—Uzbeks, Kazaks, Tadjiks, Turkomans and Kirgiz. The problem was further complicated by the fact that the nationalities comprising Bokhara also inhabited other Central Asian Soviet republics. All these peoples wanted self-determination. Uzbek supremacy was resented by the other national groups in Bokhara, and the tendency of all of these was to exaggerate rather than minimize national distinctions. The only remedy for the intense chauvinism inherited from the past was to break up all the Central Asian Soviet States into smaller units on the basis of ethnic, cultural, and national kinship, and to reassemble those units into distinct national republics. The entry of Bokhara into the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics made such a reorganization possible. The old geographical divisions were altered—so that the needs of federation and national autonomy were both satisfied—an act unprecedented in history. Bolshevism alone was able to achieve that self-determination of peoples which leads to unity.

This is the background against which Kunitz traces the course of the Socialist revolution in Central Asia during the past decade, and more particularly after the inauguration of the Five-Year Plan. Although I have, for obvious reasons, dwelt on the earlier period in which an oppressed colonial country was transformed into an autonomous Soviet republic, the bulk of Kunitz' book deals with more recent years and with conditions today. It is a thrilling and instructive narrative of economic transformation, profound advances in social, family, and personal relations, and a revolution in the cultural life of a once miserable and backward race.

Under Soviet conditions, agriculture, especially cotton growing, has grown by leaps and bounds; the output of heavy industry has increased 600 per cent since 1925, and electric power 500 per cent since 1928. Oil, coal,

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lead, copper—*all discovered since the Revolution, thanks to planned Soviet geology*—form the basis of a rapidly expanding fuel and metallurgical industry. Millions of rubles have been spent on new roads, schools, hospitals, theaters, movies, newspapers, magazines and books, and illiteracy has been drastically reduced.

Nor does our author ignore difficulties, mistakes and excesses. But where the "impartial" anti-Soviet historian gives *only* the difficulties, mistakes and excesses, Kunitz places these in their proper perspective, explaining just why they took place, just how they were overcome. We are thus enabled to understand what would otherwise remain a mystery, namely how, in spite of all the difficulties and mistakes, including the "dizziness from success" from which local Bolsheviks suffered in the collectivization campaign, Soviet Central Asia, like the U.S.S.R. as a whole, has made such enormous progress at a time when the rest of the world stagnates economically and disintegrates culturally.

Among the most dramatic sections of the narrative are those which deal with the emancipation of the Central Asian woman from the mosque, the veil and the patriarchal domination of father and husband and her entrance as man's equal in agriculture, industry, government, education and art. The solution of this problem by the Bolshevik Revolution indicates similar possibilities for the oppressed women of India, China, and Latin America; and it is greatly to Kunitz' credit that he has told this story with deep human feeling, as well as political clarity. The book as a whole is not only an important contribution to the study of the Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union, but is first-rate documentary evidence that Communism is the only solution for the colonial problem, the sole road to freedom for the oppressed races and nationalities of the world.

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